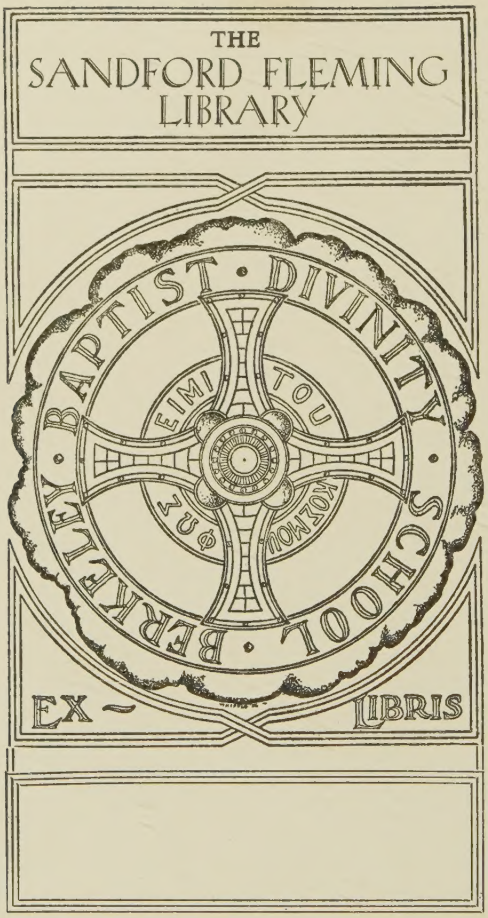
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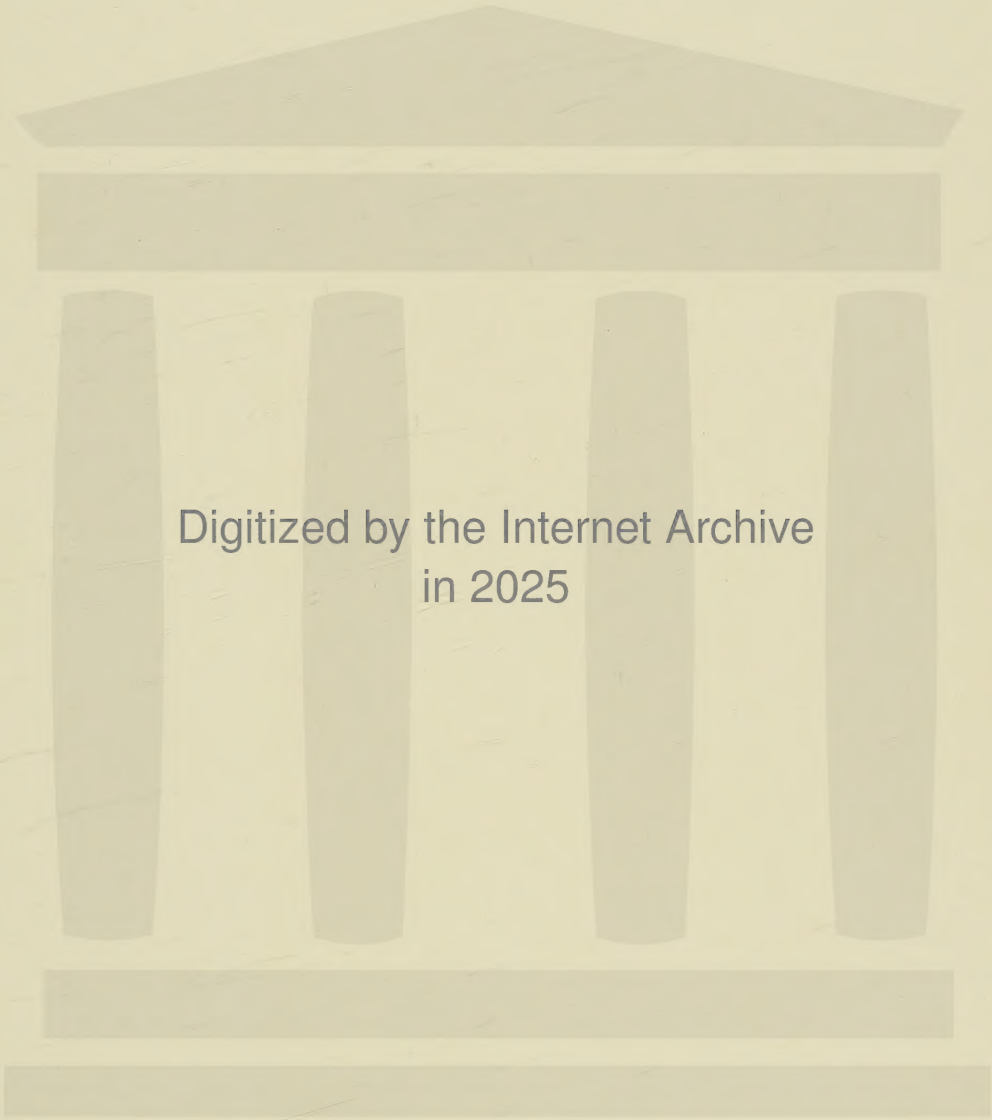
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MENNONITE LIFE

January, 1955

Published in the interest
of the best
in the religious, social, and economic phases
of Mennonite culture

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Through the Covered Bridge

Photo by H. Armstrong Rob

MENNONITE LIFE

An Illustrated Quarterly

EDITOR
Cornelius Krahn

ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR
John F. Schmidt

ASSOCIATE EDITORS
Harold S. Bender
J. Winfield Fretz
Melvin Gingerich
Robert Kreider
S. F. Pannabecker
J. G. Rempel
N. van der Zijpp

l. X | January, 1955 | No. 1

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
ntributors		2
w I Became a Missionary	*Rodolphe Charles Petter*	4
riculture among the Mennonites of Russia	*Cornelius Krahn*	14
ennonite Industry in Russia		21
kob G. Niebuhr Fabriken	*Jakob J. Niebuhr*	25
n-Combatant Service Then and Now	*Frank C. Peters*	31
oments with the Children	*Walter Gering*	36
appy New Year—Froehliches Neujahr	*Peter Hilty, Jr.*	37
e Story of the Jansen Churches	*D. Paul Miller*	38
ilhelm Wiswedel—His Services to Anabaptist Appreciation	*Robert Friedmann*	41
B. Hylkema 1870-1948: Between Two Worlds	*G. W. Hylkema*	43
tside Influences on Mennonite Thought	*Harold S. Bender*	45
Silent, Soul	*Warren Kliewer*	Inside Back Cover
ng: The Pilgrim	*Warren Kliewer*	Inside Back Cover

In Coming Issues

This being the tenth year of publication of *Mennonite Life*, the editors are planning to present ecific phases of Mennonite life and activity which give evidence of change and growth. Mennonite hievement and witness in such areas as relief and resettlement, publication, missions and educa- on deserve a survey and evaluation to guide us further in the future. Suggestions will be gladly ceived by the editors.

nnonite Life is an illustrated Quarterly magazine published in January, April, July and October by Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas. tered as second-class matter December 20, 1946, at the post office at North Newton, Kansas, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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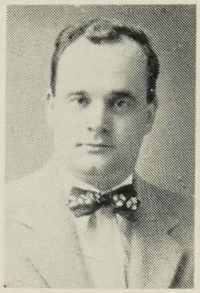
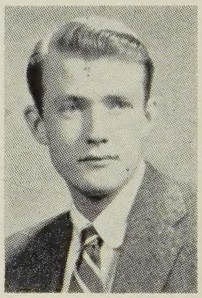
Contributors in this Issue

(From left to right)



CORNELIUS KRAHN is co-editor of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* for which this article was written (p. 14).
D. P. MILLER, Ph. D. University of Nebraska, teaches social sciences at State Teachers College, Wayne, Neb. (p. 38).
PETER HILTY, JR. teaches English at the University of Missoouri, Columbia, Missouri (p. 37).
G. W. HYLKEMA, son of C. B. Hylkema, practices medicine in Haarlem, The Netherlands (p. 43).
WALTER GERING is pastor of the Bethel Mennonite Church, Mountain Lake, Minnesota (p. 36).



HAROLD S. BENDER, dean, Goshen Biblical Seminary, gave this address at Cultural Conference, Hesston (p. 45).
FRANK C. PETERS, president of Tabor College, received his Th. M. at Toronto, Canada (p. 31).
ROBERT FRIEDMANN, Western Michigan College, is doing research on Hutterites on Guggenheim grant (p. 41).
WARREN KLIEWER, M. A., University of Minnesota, is now in alternative service at Topeka, Kansas (inside back cove

FOR PICTURE SEE ARTICLE

RODOLPHE CHARLES PETTER, late missionary and linguist to the Cheyennes of Oklahoma and Montana (picture p. 13) (p.
JACOB J. NIEBUHR, son and co-owner of Niebuhr factory described, now lives in Ontario (picture p. 25 & 30).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Illustrations pp. 16, left and bottom 18, from A. Petzholdt, *Reise im Westlichen und Südlichen Europäischen Rus land im Jahre 1855* (Leipzig, 1864). Illustrations pp. 17, top, right 18, top and bottom, left 19, right 20, advertisements in Kröker, *Christlicher Familien Kalendar* (Haldstadt, 1912). Picture top, left pp. 20, bottom, left 21, and 32, G. Toews. Pictu bottom, right, pp. 21, pictures 15, top, 22 and top, 24 from J. H. Janzen Collection. Pictures pp. 25-30 from H. G. Niebu 30th Anniversary Album, courtesy Frank F. Doerksen, Eyebrow, Sask., Canada. Photo p. 36, David Hunsberger. H. Bender, "Outside Influences on Mennonite Thought," reprinted from *Proceedings of the Ninth Conference on Mennoni Educational and Cultural Problems.*

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Bible and Plow

An Editorial

The Bible and the plow have in a unique way become ıbols of Mennonites who, since the early days of their ory, have emphasized certain characteristics in connec- ı with both of these and have linked them together their global journeys, holding, as it were, the Bible he right hand as the constant guide for life and with left guiding the plow as pioneers and tillers of the .

Because of the newly discovered truth in the Bible y had to withdraw from cities to remote uninhabited ces, transforming them into garden spots for them- ves and their posterity. This was the case with the ear- Brethren in the Emmenthal Valley and in the Jura ountains where they continue to live even today. Devas- ed areas in South Germany were resettled by the nnonite forebears, establishing such clusters of com- ınities around Weierhof, Kohlhof, Klosterhof, etc. In lland, where religious tolerance was granted first after eriod of severe persecution, they found places of refuge swampy, uninhabited regions where others did not ose to settle. Such places as Aalsmeer and Giethorn d a predominantly Mennonite population.

Draining the swamps of the Vistula Delta and River d breaking the sod of the steppes of the Ukraine and er in turn the prairie states and provinces, they fol- ved the truth found in the Bible not wavering in their ristian convictions, and as tillers of the soil they still ntinue as pioneers in the plateaus of Mexico, the ountains of Brazil, and the plains of Uruguay and the aco.

Out of missionaries of the word and blood witnesses the sixteenth century they turned by necessity into ssionaries of the plow, still serving the same creator d redeemer who sent them forth to fulfill his command- ent. We pity him who does not fully appreciate this ase of our history—who does not realize that these ople of the soil constitute God's best reservoir from ich he calls forth his missionaries of the word to go t into the uttermost parts of the earth to proclaim the spel of salvation. We would be ungrateful children of a rious past generation repeating the prayer of the arisee if we would not see this. By speaking lightly d in a derogative manner about this aspect of our his- ry we destroy the roots of the tree that has brought rth much fruit and has been a blessing in generations st. God has many more prospective missionary candi- tes among the humble rural folks than among a so- isticated generation which has already spent its "light" in some way.

One of God's servants who was called out of a humble environment and who has done more than many other missionaries and evangelists to bring the light of the gospel to a heathen generation was Rodolphe Petter. Born to French-speaking parents in Switzerland he attended a German-Swiss Seminary in Basel and joined the Mennonites of Switzerland to become an American Mennonite missionary to the Cheyenne Indians of Oklahoma and Montana. His love toward these people and his gift and eagerness to learn their language touched their hearts. He became not only an outstanding messenger of God among them, but also an unusual linguist and a nationally recognized authority on matters pertaining to the Cheyenne Indians. His translations of parts of the Bible, songs, and Bunyan's "Pilgrims Progress" into the Cheyenne language and his Cheyenne dictionary and grammar are monuments of scholarship and represent a life work motivated by a genuine love toward God and man.

His account of how he felt the call to become a missionary, how he prepared himself for this work and how he became acquainted with the Mennonites and the Indians is interestingly written by himself and prepared for print by Mrs. Bertha Kinsinger Petter. We are very happy to present this personal narrative to the readers of MENNONITE LIFE, particularly since at this time the missionary activities of the General Conference Mennonite Church among the Indians of Oklahoma approach the seventy-fifth anniversary. It is fitting to remember those that have spent their lives as messengers of God in this field of service and to add the pages of the early account of Rodolphe Petter's life story to his *Reminiscences of Past Years in Mission Service Among the Cheyenne,* which he wrote and published years ago. In this connection we would also like to call attention to the Rodolphe Petter Memorial Collection displayed in the basement of the Bethel College Library, which is open to the public.

This issue also presents in a special way a chapter of Mennonite pioneering in Russia in the realm of agricultural activities. Unusual material and illustrations were obtained for this purpose. Whether our forefathers were guiding the plow to subdue the earth, or whether they were preaching the word of life as messengers of the Lord to subdue the hearts of men, they were His servants and messengers in as far as they were guided by His word and will.

344015

HOW I BECAME A MISSIONARY

BY RODOLPHE CHARLES PETTER

An English author of a very interesting book entitled THE SHRINE OF A PEOPLES' SOUL, *in which he dwells on the value of one's mother tongue in the expression of the deepest emotion one is capable of, says in his preface "May there not be some special thrill in the story how men and women have been the first to master some unknown tongue, have reduced it to writing and then have translated the New Testament, major portions of the Old Testament, or possibly the entire Bible?"*

The following is a vivid portrayal of the Swiss background of one whom God chose for such a task. In it he gives his children a simple account (originally not intended for publication) of his birth, his youth, his call, his studies, his marriage and his coming to America.

—Mrs. Rodolphe Petter

I BEGIN writing this while here in Ashland, Montana, visiting for a few days in the home of my children, Valdo, his wife Laura, and Daniel, the little one now six months old. It is January 24, 1929. Valdo asked me many times to put into writing what I remember of all my days.

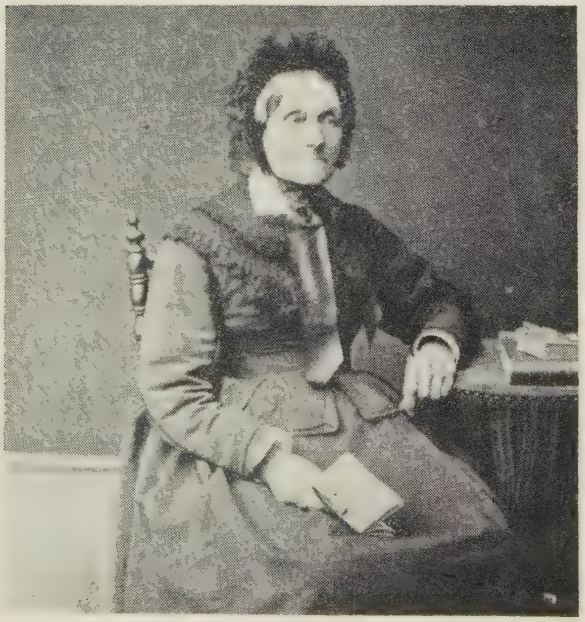
My Swiss Home

It was on the nineteenth of February, 1865, that I was born in Vevey, Switzerland. The name Rodolphe Charles Petter was given to me. My father was Louis Petter from Motier-Vuilly, Canton of Fribourg, Switzerland. He w "tonnelier" (coppersmith) by trade and died when he w only about thirty-six or thirty-eight years of age. H made big vats. They were needed in the vineyards whi covered the steep slopes of the mountain-side in Veve the raising of grapes being the main industry. Worki often in damp cellars, he took cold and died of phthis in a hospital in Lausanne, Canton of Vaud. He left n mother with five children. Louise, the first born, died infancy. Emma was the oldest. I followed, then broth Auguste, a sister named Cecile, and brother Aime w then youngest. My mother was Elise Dubuis (de la Pra of Huguenot and Waldensian descent.

The house where I was born stood only a few fe from the main Paris-Lausanne-Simplon tunnel—Ror and Orient trunk line. My brother Auguste and I were to to watch Cecile, our baby sister. Lost in play, we forg She crept through the picket fence and on to the trac Fortunately the Paris express slowed for the stop at t Vevey station, and the engineer spied the child a stopped in time. A miracle indeed! God's protecting ha held both of us and our baby sister.

My father's business was good, but before he w taken to the hospital in Lausanne, we lived in Chexbr Canton of Vaud, and there we did not always ha enough to eat. After his death, we came to live wi grandparents Dubuis in Corsier, above Vevey, since mot er could not support us.

Grandmother de la Praz and mother Elise Dubuis de la Praz, grandmother and mother of Rodolphe Petter of Hugnen and Waldensian descent.



vey on the shores of Lake Leman, Switzerland where Rodolphe Petter was born. Snow capped Alps in background.

Grandfather Dubuis was burgomeister of Corsier. He s an intense orchardist and always had the best fruits the market. He also had fine vineyards, and was oud of them and of the good wine he made. There was ways an abundance of wine, but somehow my brother uguste and I never had a taste for it and drank very tle, except at vintage time before it was fermented.

My Grandparents

As I said before, my grandmother was born a "de la az." She was a fine noble woman of Huguenot-Waldenn descent. She was a good housewife. She also kept a od garden and sold the vegetables to buy the needed oceries. She was also much in demand in the village case of sickness or on special festive occasions. She ould nurse, cook or help in "hog butchering" time. The usages she made were known to be the best.

I often went with her to the large open market place Vevey, helping her carry the things she wanted to sell. e always had the choicest vegetables, grapes, and aches and she never sat long on the large market place fore she had sold everything.

In those days the tailor and shoemaker came once a ar to the house to do all the work needed for a whole ar. Glorious days were those when the hogs were itchered, new bread baked in the communal bakery, corn d nut "bees" held in the evening and during vintage ason.

Grandfather had many walnut trees and every fall the nuts had to be cracked and opened and the kernels brought to an oil mill. Thus grandmother got her supply of fine walnut oil for the cooking and a coarser grade for the lamps. The wicks she made herself. During the winter months, she, my mother, and a sister of my mother spun all the wool and flax needed for bedsheets, towels and clothes. All this was woven in the communal weaving house. We had milk from cows, wool from sheep, meat from kids, pork from pigs, all kinds of vegetables from the garden, fruits from the orchard, cheese, butter, wine, even flour from our own wheat and threshed by hand. We also had honey from our own bees. At Grandmother's table the fare was always good, nourishing and plentiful, and we had no lack.

Early Experiences

I recall a number of experiences while we stayed at the home of Grandfather Dubuis in Corsier right above Vevey. Late one afternoon my mother and I in coming home from somewhere, passed a large estate where wealthy people lived. On the spacious lawn I spied a very cunning little garden rake. Immediately I coveted it and took it as no one was looking. My mother did not restrain me well knowing how poor we were and how few toys and playthings I had had. But as we neared the stone stairway leading up the steep mountainside from Vevey to Corsier, I was suddenly seized with such a sense of guilt, which

Castle of Chillon, Lake Leman, made famous by Lord Byron, and ancient St. Martin Cathedral in Vevey.

made me turn at once and hasten back to carefully place the little rake in the exact spot where I had found it.

My mother had a sister married to Charles Dubuis. I was placed in their home for a time. One day Uncle Charles told me to pick up *echalas* in the vineyard, and put them in piles. But after a while I forgot my job and began to collect all sorts of bugs and put them in a tin box. That night I had a dream. All the bugs I had caught stood before me and reproached me for my cruelty to them. In the morning I lost no time in freeing the few bugs still alive in the tin box.

My uncle and aunt were kind to me, but sometimes Uncle Charles would get drunk and act mean to his wife. One night he came home late. He was drunk. He turned the bed in which I was sleeping upside down. I found myself flat on the feather cover which fortunately was thick, and the whole bed was on my back. That was the last night at Uncle Charles' home.

Back in the home of my grandfather, my mother sent brother Auguste and myself one evening to get milk some distance away. In climbing those steep stone stairways, I stumbled and the pail flew with me to one side. It was too dark to see how much milk I had spilled, but in our distress, we knelt down on the stone steps and asked God to please pity us for we were poor, and fill our pail again. How happy we were when we reached home and mother opened the pail to find it was full. To our childish minds this impressed us as a definite answer to prayer.

As I said before, Grandfather Dubuis had a fine orchard of choice fruit. I remember that one day my brother Auguste and I picked two fine pears from a tree. However, we soon felt we had done wrong, and having some string in our pockets we carefully tied the two pears back on the branch. But we did not escape. Grandfather noticed the strange pears and he did not think it was humorous. He punished us.

Another time Grandmother Dubuis and I were coming home. I was carrying something in a wicker basket on my back and she was slowly following me. Why I stopped and asked God to give me 25 centimes I do not remember. But as I rested my load on the stone steps, right before me was the money I had asked for.

Grandmother prized a large picture of Napoleon in her

Reputed birthplace of Rodolphe Petter, Vevey, Switzerland.

home. She often told us children that when in 1800 t great general and his troops was on his way to Italy rode to the large open market place in Vevey, spied h dismounted from his war steed, picked her up and kiss her saying in French, "What a darling little one." S always kept a picture of Napoleon in her home.

This however had nothing to do with my schoolmat placing me at the head of a little company, calling n Napoleon as I led them up and down those stone ste in and around buildings, skirmishes here and there in o childish play as soldiers.

Sunday School and Church

Our grandmother did more than our mother to i fluence us children in religion, both by example and teaching. She had us read in the Bible and insisted th we children attend Sunday school and church. The chur was only a few steps from my grandfather's home the in Corsier. Something very funny happened one Sunda The minister was preaching to us from a high pul above our heads. He wore a wig. Suddenly while he w speaking up there, his wig loosened and fluttered do among the congregation. We children were greatly amus and completely forgot about the sermon.

I must also tell about a tourist from England who w a painter. He must have thought I was a good subject f a picture, so he hired me to stand barefooted in a lit brook nearby, with one pantaloon leg rolled up, and o suspender down, while he painted me. The water w cold, but I tried not to flinch because of the promis pay, though I had to stand a long time. I suppose th finished picture is somewhere in England. I never saw

Dreaming About Indians

Two experiences during my stay at the home Grandfather Dubuis stand out in my memory and I kn that even then, all unbeknown to myself, God w singling me out for my special life-work. Brother Augu and I were sleeping together. One night he woke me and said in excited words, "Rodolphe, I had a vi dream. I saw you in a large camp of Indians in Amer and you were preaching to them."

Another night we were sound asleep when sudde the tocsin sounded from the tower of the nearby chur I awoke with a start and said to Auguste, "Oh, broth I know L'Eternal is calling me. I henceforth dedicate life to His service."

But our stay at the home of Grandfather did not l Brother Auguste and I were placed in the home o mother with four stalwart daughters who lived at Ch donne, which was another village farther up the st mountainside. One of the daughters was a good Christ woman, and she attended religious meetings where Bible was studied. I have no more recollection of home, except that we did not like it. However, the teac in that village school took a great liking to me and hel me in many ways. His name was Besancon. I know

lped me very much. One day the advanced class in ography did not know their lesson. In disgust Monsieur esancon called on me, and it happened that I could an-ver every question.

In Chardonne I attended Bible meetings in a large ouse. I believe the minister's name was Neff. One day uguste and I were walking along the road with packs n our backs when this minister caught up with us. He ad a small rig drawn by a horse and he stopped and ffered us a friendly lift. Seeing that I kept my load on y back, he asked why I did not lay it down. "Oh," I said, I don't want to make it too hard for your horse." How at man laughed. He could hardly stop. But we liked im and his meetings. They drew me to God's Word.

Prayer

One day while in Chardonne, I had quite an experience n haying time. The older daughter in the home acted as oss of the work to be done in the field. She came to me nd said, "Here is my purse with money. Keep it in our pocket until this evening when I shall pay the orkmen." I took it and kept on raking and forking until he last wagon was loaded. Then this "boss" asked me or the money. I reached in my pocket and it was gone. hat was a terrible moment for me. I was speechless. inally I said I would go and hunt for it and started im-ediately in what I feared would be a hopeless search mong the stubble in the meadow. I walked back and orth. In my distress I remembered God and prayed, ask-ng Him to help me in my search and save me from im-ending trouble. I had scarcely finished my prayer when spied the purse among the stubble.

From Chardonne, we came back to the home of our randparents in Corsier, but we did not stay there long. Our grandfather had never liked our father, and somehow e took his grudge out on Auguste and myself. They were ond of Emma, our sister, and she stayed with them. Cecile was placed in an orphanage where she had a good ringing up. Brother Auguste and I were sent to Motier-Vuilly to my father's relatives where we were well re-eived. I was nearly twelve years old and Auguste about en and a half. My Uncle Rodolphe who lived in Lug-orres, across Lake Morat, took me to his home while Auguste stayed with Aunt Sophie, who had worked as "Gouvernante" in Germany for many years and had never narried. She and Grandmother Petter lived together in Motier.

Aunt Henriette was in England. She had been a gov-rness in the home of a British ambassador in Bern whose ame was Harris. When they returned to England, they ook her along. She was a fine woman and we enjoyed er immensely on her rare visits in Switzerland. She died n England.

Uncle Rodolphe

Uncle Rodolphe was a powerful but irascible man. He meant well with me but I was never happy there. He read his Bible some at home but was not exactly a church man. He neither drank nor smoked and was hard working and honest. He was a truck farmer and I sometimes went along to Bern to sell vegetables on the market there. He was also a game hunter to provide for the needs of his family. It was from him that I learned about wild animals, birds, traps and guns. How proud I felt when he would send me to a nearby forest to get the gun he had hid in the bushes.

With him I would also go out on Lake Morat, especially when he had to have wheat ground into flour. One morning we took a pretty large unwieldy boat. As I could not steer well by means of the back oar, Uncle Rodolphe got angry and slapped me in the face. That day I learned to steer even through my tears. As fog came down he drew out a compass and showed me how to steer by it, he doing the heavy pulling at the oars.

We arrived a little late on the other shore, and as the miller was crowded with work it was dusk before we got our flour. By that time a strong wind had set in and the dark surface of the lake was dotted with white caps. My uncle was a giant in strength and that lake meant nothing to him, but somehow his temper was up, and I feared that more than the waves.

By the time we reached the middle of the lake one of his oars had been broken by the waves so he took one of mine. But how that boat danced! Sometimes it seemed to stand straight up so I feared I would fall on my uncle. Then the chains would be thrown up and down just back of me. Amidst the roar of the waves, the whistle of the wind, and the clanking of the chains, Uncle Rodolphe would shout at me for not rowing well. How could I? Those waves would just thrust my one oar back against the boat. It was then that I simply prayed to God that the boat capsize and I be freed from my uncle. Well, that prayer, though uttered in faith, was not answered. Before I knew it, we touched the other shore and after a two-hour walk, we reached home. Next day my uncle did all he could to be kind to me and make me forget his roughness. However I was not happy in that home.

One day when Uncle Rodolphe had been rough to me, I left him and was warmly received in a humble Christian family where the wife (or aunt) was paralytic and bedfast. I read a great deal to her from the Scriptures and Christian books. She was ever so sweet and uncomplaining. The atmosphere of this home was like heaven to me. I felt warmed in my heart. Alas, soon Uncle Rodolphe forced me to come back to his home. That was a bitter day for me. Auguste accompanied me and helped carry my bundle until about a mile from the home of Uncle Rodolphe. There we stopped and rested under a tree. We both felt miserable and cried together. Auguste said he wanted to go far away and forget our unhappy childhood. Later he went to Paris where he worked in the Grand Hotel for over fifty years. When I reached my uncle's home that evening, he acted gruff, but he was kind, yea kinder from then on. But I counted the time until I would be free.

At School

I lived four years with my Uncle Rodolphe and attended school there which was not graded like the ones in Vevey and Chardonne. But the teacher was good, though he was very severe and had a violent temper. Somehow he was kind to me, but very mean to another orphan boy put "on the commune." He would beat him unmercifully. The boy became so inured to harsh treatment that he did not mind it at all. His name was Ducrest and I learned later that he became a missionary in Africa. I am so glad. It seems that God chose us poor orphan boys for His work, quite unknown to us.

While staying with my uncle Rodolphe at Lugnorres, I dearly loved my visits with brother Auguste at the home of Aunt Sophie and Grandmother Petter at Motier on the other side of the lake. Aunt Sophie was a quiet, dignified elderly lady and I always had a pleasant time in her home. Grandmother was then ninety-four years old, mother of my father. In her young days, Agassiz was minister there in Motier-Vuilly. As his wife was not well after giving birth to a baby boy, and needed a "wet" nurse, my grandmother was chosen. As little Agassiz grew, she would take him for walks along the shore of Lake Morat. Even when very small he was greatly interested in little pebbles and stones and would pick them up and ask grandmother about them. That little baby boy became the famous naturalist, Louis Agassiz, of whom America is so proud and would like to claim as her very own. He was given the names of my father Louis and two of his brothers. Thus his name was Jean Louis Rodolphe Agassiz. A bronze plaque bearing his name and date of birth is still on the door of the manse there in Motier-Vuilly, on Lake Morat in Switzerland.

Confirmation

When in my fifteenth year, I had to go to the "cure" or parsonage (that very parsonage where the great naturalist Agassiz was born) together with others, to be instructed for our confirmation in the Reformed Church. While I understood not all, I enjoyed the talks which Pastor Gagnebin gave us. He was a God-fearing man and devoted to his work. One day while talking to us he wondered whether any in our class would ever enter the ministry. In my heart a voice said "You will," but I said nothing, and then chided myself for having such a thought. I asked myself how could I hope to attain to the high calling of the ministry. Even should I have the needed intelligence, surely I did not have the means. The day of my confirmation made a deep impression on me. It took place in the church next to the parsonage where Agassiz was born. Later, as a student at Basel I preached my first French sermon in that very church. My uncle attended the confirmation service and he liked the sermon because the pastor had chosen an illustration of a boat on a stormy lake. A year or so before my confirmation, Pastor Gagnebin had started a YMCA, and I became a member. This was a great help to me. I recall also a lady Sunday school teacher in Chardonne, who did not explain much of the lesson, but through her I learned t know New Testament Bible stories that impressed m greatly.

After my confirmation I was free. I could go where pleased. I was no longer bound to the home of Uncle Ro dolphe. Pastor Gagnebin had found a place for me wit two elderly ladies, the Mesdemoiselles Dufour, friends Comtesse de Gasperin, living near Orbes, Canton Vaud. They were Christian ladies. One was writing book. They took quite an interest in me. I had to hel some in the house, but most of my work was in the ga den. The place had proved impossible for other boys, be ing so very secluded within four walls, but I liked it. stayed there from spring until fall of the year 1880. Sinc they were planning to spend the winter in Italy they a ranged for me to stay with Dr. and Madame Recordon i Lausanne until their return.

Lausanne

So it happened that I came to that beautiful city Lausanne, where I found a very good home with thes fine wealthy people. Dr. Recordon was an eminent phy sician, but not a church man. His wife, who came fro England, was a fine Christian woman. Her special interes was in helping the cause of God's kingdom. She ofte invited the theological students from the university i Lausanne for an evening in her beautiful home. Then toc oftentimes a blind evangelist named Eugene Peter, cam there and gradually I became acquainted with him. Some times he would borrow me from Madame Recordon t lead him to diverse places, even outside of Lausanne.

The Recordons had two house servants and a coach man. The latter lived over the stable and seldom cam into the house. The cook and the chambermaid were el derly ladies. These had quite a time with me, especiall when there were great dinners and many guests. I ha "funny streaks" sometimes and once the chambermai could not go into the dining room with her food becaus she was so overcome with laughter. At other times w had serious conversations on religious subjects and bot listened with great attention. Louise, the good-hearte chambermaid, said I was better than a minister. "Yes better than all those theoolgical students who just cam to sip tea and eat 'patisserie' (bonbons)." Later, when a a student at Basel, I came back for visits, Madame Re cordon always gave me a most affectionate welcome, call ing me *Mon cher enfant Rodolphe* (my dear child Ro dolphe). It encouraged me greatly when she would relat what a serious impression I had made on her two ser vants.

Both the Recordons became very fond of me and di not want me to return to the Defours. Monsieur Pete also wanted to engage me so it was agreed that I sta with the Recordons, but from time to time accompan Peter on his evangelistic tours. When we travelled to dis tant places, I bought his railroad tickets, guided him t hotels or private homes, across streets, read for him pri vately and publicly and wrote his letters for him. Thus w

velled all over the Canton of Vaud, served in the big
y of Geneva, were in France as far as Lyon, also went
Alsace.

Meeting People

Thus I had an opportunity to meet very distinguished
ople. Among them I remember Count Brobinskov,
oulepnikoff, Count Korff of St. Petersburg, Russia, also
minent Christians from Germany, France, and Eng-
d, all friends of the kingdom of God.

Of course, according to custom, I was regarded as
nsieur Peter's servant and was not admitted to the
ner circle" of conversation at dinners, but that did not
ther me a bit. However, when we came to the home of a
nister in a little village, it was different. At such times,
as invited to the table. I enjoyed these trips very much
d naturally they were quite an education for me,
dually shaping my course toward the goal God had
mind for me.

French being my mother tongue, all my education
d of course been in that language, but being of an in-
iring mind from childhood, my sister Emma and I had
rned most of the Italian verb. Then while staying with
Recordons in Lausanne, I used some free time to
rn the German grammar. One of the theological stu-
nts there, who was my friend, and who later went to
uth Africa as a missionary, helped me. We also talked
ich together about mission addresses held in Lausanne
d also attended mission meetings held there every year.

Oh, how I liked good old Lausanne with the beautiful
c Leman (Lake Geneva) below it and the magnificent
ain of the Savoyan Alps, the giant Mont Blanc and the
nts du Midi across the lake in France.

The Call

As the years slipped by, I felt more and more the call
mission work. A mission festival at Motier which I
tended had greatly impressed me. As the courses in the
iversities and theological seminaries in Lausanne were
yond my means, I began to look elsewhere. Thus I
rned to know of the *Missionsschule* in Basel, which
cepted students without means for a year's *Probe*
ial) and then trained them free of charge provided
ey go to fields of their choosing.

Thus I wrote to Basel and was referred to a re-
wned theologian, Pfarrer Wagner-Groben, author of
veral fine German devotional books. The title of one
s *Die Macht des Gebets*. I was so glad to meet this
nerable white-haired pastor and now after many years
an still see him in my mind. He questioned me very
osely and then he greatly encouraged me. He also gave
full information as to requirements in the Basel
ssionsschule. Accordingly I again wrote to Basel mak-
g formal application to enter and also made my step
own to Madame Recordon. At the time I was staying
th Eugene Peter in a home where we lodged and board-

Madame Recordon was chagrined to learn that I had
plied to the Basler Missionsschule. She had other plans
for me. She and Dr. Recordon wanted to adopt me as their son since they had no children. They planned to educate me at the best universities, defraying all my expenses, and making me sole heir to ther wealth. They visualized me as a prominent minister in the *Eglise Libre* (Free Church). It was not easy to turn down such a generous offer, but I felt the call to the mission field and feared being otherwise bound or hindered. Then, as now, money and riches never enticed me.

When then in the course of time a letter came from Basel stating that I would be accepted, provided I had a physician's certificate as to my physical fitness to stand the strenuous life of a missionary on a distant mission field, I naturally went to Dr. Recordon for the examination. He looked me over carefully and then said in his gruff but kind way, "Too bad there is nothing wrong with your body to hinder from such a step, Rodolphe, but oh, why should you go to a distant mission field when you could have such splendid opportunities right here at home?" He reported to the Basler Missionsschule, also the Mesdemoiselles Dufor, Pastor Gagnebin and the blind evangelist sent recommendations.

Basler Missionsschule

So it happened that about the last days of August in 1883 I arrived there and was met at the railroad station by a student who could speak French. While I had studied the German grammer, I could neither speak nor understand German, though I was eighteen years old. As we passed through the *Spalentor* on our way out to the Basler Missionsschule, I envied a group of children playing there and freely talking to one another in German.

Once at the school, I was surrounded by old and new students, but could not converse with them. Sieber, who had met me at the station, had other duties, and so there was no one to interpret for me, not even at the supper table. I shall never forget that first supper. It consisted of some kind of soup, sour milk (clotted) and dry bread. As I had a profound aversion for that kind of milk, I did not touch it. German comments buzzed all around my head, but failed to enter. I felt blue and miserable and was glad to go to bed early.

Not being able to understand German, the regular course was unthinkable, so I was put with a group of eight or ten boys who were called *Lehrerdiener* (servants of the teachers). We were given special preparatory courses adapted to our needs and were also detailed for diverse tasks in the house and for the teachers.

I was instructed to take care of the offices of the *Inspector*, as the superintendent was called, his aides and secretaries. Also I was to serve Dr. Hensler who was then editor of the *Evangelischer Heidenbote*. My work was very easy. I started the fires in winter, dusted the desks and papers, and between my classes, I did errands for these men.

While thus serving them, *Inspector* O. Schott as well as his aides tried their French on me while I tried

Missionshaus, Basel where Petter went to school and classmates Sieber, Goy, Perregaux, and Petter. All served in mission fields.

my German on them. Oftentimes we had a good laugh but I learned quickly in this way. Schott had a very nice water pitcher which I had to clean and replenish every morning. One time I was in a hurry, picked up this pitcher quickly, opened the second story window and threw out the water. Yes, but the pitcher went with the water and left the handle tight in my hands.

I feared the *Inspector* would be greatly displeased and would reprove me, so when he came in I excitedly tried to tell him what had happened, in German of course. But instead of being angry, he could hardly keep his face straight. He wanted to laugh. I wonder to this day what I said.

One day Dr. Hensler called me to go with him to the train to meet a very distinguished man from Italy, who also spoke French, but not German. I was to help Hensler if he got stuck in his French.

Work and Study

We had to wait a long time at the railway station, so Hensler began to ply me with questions. Then he suggested that to improve the time we each tell how the Psalms started. I knew a good many but he appeared to know them all. Finally the train pulled in and this "high personage" stepped out. When we reached the Mission, that little job as interpreter ended.

Those first months as *Lehrerdiener* passed quickly. At first I had difficulty in committing passages of Scripture to memory in German. We had to memorize many, even entire chapters.

But gradually I learned German so that early in March, 1884, I could write my short biography and make application to take the regular theological course. The written comment of Schott as to my ability was *offenbar nicht unbegabt* (without doubt gifted).

However, it was quite uphill work to study Latin, Greek, Hebrew, higher mathematics, not mentioning all the other branches under teachers whom at first I could understand only imperfectly. But I passed the examinations for entrance to the regular theological course and from there on sailing was not too rough.

Rodolphe Petter does not give us a description of life at the Missionsschule where he spent almost seven years in intensive study. So we quote from the life story of his classmate, Eduard Perregaux, written in French by his brother, a professor at Neuchatel, with quotations from many sources including letters. Eduard writes:

"We French Swiss students are in the minority. I Eduard Perregaux, Sieber who became a missionary in India, Goy who later entered the mission in Paris and died in Zambesi, Petter, who went to the Red Skins of America. The exterior view of this grand institution is extremely simple. In fact, simplicity in dress and simplicity in lodging and meals is stressed. Large dormitories with about twenty-three beds in each, class rooms for lessons and study are provided. In the basement is a large assembly room for prayers. Under the roof are small cabinets or closets for private prayer. On the door of each class room is some device. One carries in large letters the German word "Ich" with a wide black band across it indicating "Death to Self." That well typifies the spirit of the house. Obedience and crucifixion of self are first requisites. That is deemed the best preparation for all the renunciations still to come as missionaries in heathen lands.

Program of the Day

"As to the program of the day, the bell awakes us at five o'clock in summer and 5:30 in winter. After dressing each prepares his lesson until morning worship at seven o'clock. It is the custom to kneel in prayer. Breakfast follows at 7:30 and then each makes his own bed. Classes begin at 8:00 and continue until 12:15. Dinner follows then there is a little free time for a walk, splitting wood for the institution or for tinkering in the workshop. Classes follow, adapted to the development of the students. At four o'clock *cafe au lati* is served and supper at eight o'clock. A little free time is allowed, then evening prayers at nine o'clock. At 9:30 each feels he has rightly earned his repose.

"Each student has to take his turn in certain duties connected with the Institute. This is to open our eyes to

ny possible tasks on the mission field and to prove
's adaptability. I am now a senior," says Perregaux
id this week in due course I am "famulus" with a
iety of small and greater tasks I do not especially like.
t I have brave friends who help me, especially Petter,
o invariably has done the most of it for me when I
ne up from removing all the dishes from the tables.

"Our professors are very exacting. They demand care-
preparation of our lessons, and since we do not yet
ow German perfectly, one does not eat the bread of
iness. For instance, tomorrow we must know twenty-
ır Hebrew verbs. I do not know them yet, although I
eady have a headache.

"What frightens me most is to give cathechetical in-
uction under the critique of M. Kinzler, to the children
missionaries who stay in a home nearby. If it were in
ench, this would be easy. I must also prepare for a
ssion conference as I am called here or there in Swit-
rland to speak or to sing.

Perregaux had a fine tenor voice and was a brilliant anist. He was called out very often to sing and play at urch services and otherwise.

"There is no lack of work. There is no time for lone-
meness. The course of study is very rigid. Thus it is
cessary from time to time to make joyous excursions
re or there for a change and for relaxation in soul and
dy." *We resume Petter's narrative.*

Through Mist and Fog

One day we went to visit our friend, M. Morel, pas-
r at Mouttier. We were four: Sieber, later missionary in
dia; Goy, who died in Zambesi; Eduard, who died in
frica, and I who later went to the American Indians. We
rived at the parsonage late in the evening. We were wet
id dirty from our long walk from Basel for it rained
the way and we were hardly presentable. But with
hat warmth Madame Morel received us! She made us
el so welcome. The next day Pastor Morel suggested
at we climb the Weissenstein. The sky was grey, but we
arted and soon we were enveloped in fog. We then be-
an to question whether the view would justify the ar-
uous climb, but Eduard who was ever of a jovial, opti-
istic nature, insisted that he could see the blue sky
rough the mist and fog. "You are right. Let's go on,"
id the pastor, and we trudged along up the steep
ountainside. When we finally reached the summit, we
w absolutely nothing. However, there was a piano at
e mountain hotel, so Eduard sat down to play while we
l stood around him and sang as though that had been
e very object of our strenuous climb. In descending, the
in accompanied us all the way down. Finally Mon-
eur Morel said to Eduard, "And where is your blue
y?" Undaunted the prompt reply came back from this
fted and high-spirited young missionary student as he
anced along in the mud ahead of us, "Behind the
ouds." At evening prayers when the mountain climbers had reached the shelter of this delightful parsonage, Pastor Morel took occasion to say, "My dear young friends, you will often need to say in your various mission fields that you see the sun through the mist and fog behind the clouds."

We were often invited to the home of Madame von Steiger, a prominent pastor's wife in Bern who was a wealthy lady and deeply interested in the kingdom of God and the spreading of the gospel in heathen lands. She ever opened her lovely home to Perregaux and myself during vacation times. She knew we were poor, so at her own expense she often provided entertainment. Once she took us up to the Schynige Platte. Mountain railways were not plentiful in those days, so we walked, while her servants carried her in an armed chair as she was over eighty years of age. After a delightful outing and a five course dinner at the mountain hotel, we began our descent.

At one place I remarked about an exquisite fragrance coming from some plants along the path though I could see no flowers. With her cane Madame Steiger pushed aside the leaves to show an insignificant looking brown blossom. "This is the *Männertreue* (manly loyalty)" she said. "Let it be a symbol to you of a life hidden from the world, unseen, unnoticed, yet emitting such a wonderful fragrance in service for the Master." This made a deep and abiding impression on me. My life motto became, *vivons heureux, vivons cache,* freely rendered "to live happily, let us live hidden."

I enjoyed the lessons in practical medicine given during the last two or three years of my almost seven years' mission course. During that time I had also to take compulsory military training required in Switzerland, for which I did not care at first. However, I was placed in the medical department of the army, called *Lazarett-Dienst,* and there I learned many useful things for which I was thankful ever after. This training also included a hospital course in the *Bürger-Spital (hospital)* in Basel. After that I had more interest in medicine than before and was eager for further courses given us. I was made *Krankenwärter* (nurse) at the Missionsschule in the two rooms provided for sick students. In my last year I was made *Oberkrankenwärter* (head nurse) under direct oversight and instruction of the medical professor, who showed me much that could not be taught in the classroom. Of course I had to keep up my other studies too.

While taking my military training I had some tough going with rough, uncouth soldiers. It was while I was in the *Kaserne* in Thun, Canton Bern, that I became acquainted with a young cavalry man named Samuel Gerber. At the time the artillery and the cavalry had maneuvers and of course there were some casualties that had to be brought to the hospital. Thus Samuel Gerber became one of my patients. I liked him. He was a jolly fellow. Soon he told me of his home on the Jura Plateau and of his people, saying they were *Taufgesinnte* (Mennonites).

Where Petter was confirmed and preached his first sermon.

Meeting Mennonites

That arrested my attention. I had read about these peculiar people. When Samuel Gerber was dismissed from the cavalry school, he made me promise that when I too would be free, I should visit him and his folks on my way back to Basel. Little did he or I think that this would lead to my marriage with his sister Marie. It also led me to these Mennonite churches which I joined later and who sent me to the United States to become their missionary to the American Indians.

Taufgesinnte, as the Mennonites still call themselves in the Bern Jura, means the baptist-minded ones. The existence of their congregations before the Reformation, has been shown by L. Keller in his books. These *Taufgesinnte* in the Jura Mountains in Switzerland knew this. It was interesting to me to hear the older people speak of other church groups as being Catholic or Protestant, saying further that they themselves were neither, but had existed as a distinct religious group from the time of the apostles. What drew me to these people was their very close resemblance to what my grandmother Dubuis told me about the Waldensians. She was a Waldensian. There was a connecting spiritual link which bound them together from apostolic times. Then, too, through my studies of the Word, I had come to have doubts as to the scriptural basis for infant baptism.

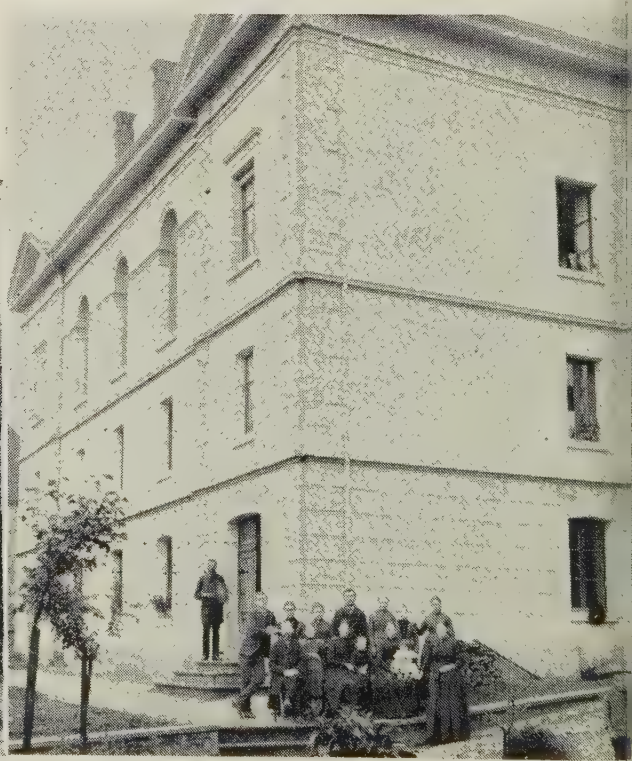
Decisions for Life

As soon as my army term was over, I boarded a train for Biel and Tramelan where Samuel Gerber met me with his engaging nature. He brought me to his home on the high Jura Plateau. It was such a cozy place nestled among spruce trees in the center of a large forest. Immediately I was drawn to Samuel's sister Marie. At the time the mother, Samuel, a daughter Marianne, and Marie lived on the home place. The other sons and daughters were all married and had their own homes, some even having emigrated to America. The few days I spent there on this first visit were happy ones. Later I came again to preach at Tramelan. Gradually my affection for Marie grew and I asked for her hand but not directly. That would have been against the rules of the Basler Missionsschule. However, I did not want to go to a far distant mission field without making sure of her, though indirectly. Afterwards it occured to me that their's was not exactly God's rule in this respect. But I was very careful until the last year of my studies.

Missionary to the Indians

Meanwhile, a man by the name of J. A. Sprunger, a Mennonite from Berne, Indiana, U.S.A., came to visit the Mennonite churches in Switzerland. I met him once at the Gerber home. There I had a long talk with him and for the first time, through him, learned of the mission work done by the churches of the Mennonite General Conference in the U.S.A. among the American Indians. Knowing that I had come to disbelieve in infant baptism, he began

The Gerber home in the Jura Mountains where Rodolphe Petter spent his vacation and where he met Marie Gerber whom he married in this chapel (right) in Tramelan. J. A. Sprunger, instrumental in bringing Petter to America, standing in background.



Wedding picture of Rodolphe and Marie Gerber Petter.

o urge me to consider entering that field. I knew it would ot be easy for me to work on the Basel mission fields ecause of my conviction on the non-scriptural ground or infant baptism after working out a text given to me or a trial sermon (Acts 19:1-8). But I was bound to the asel Mission Board and could not leave without their onsent. They all tried hard, especially Dr. Riggenbach nd Pastor Ecklin, to persuade me to stay with them. Iowever, finally they reluctantly gave their consent, re-retting very much that I would leave them. When I ft Basel, *Inspector* Oehler told me, "If at any time you ould regret having left us, be assured that the doors or your return will ever be open." I had occasion to re-ember these words of Oehler when some ministers in merica were suspicious of me at the first Conference I ttended, and one even said, "There are not a few ser-ants who have left their master."

Oehler knew how hard it was for me to leave Basel. left with a good name. I did not run away. The *Taufgesinnte* congregations of the Berner Jura and of Emmenthal reimbursed the Basler Mission for what it had ost them during my seven years in that institution. prunger was glad. He assured me that the Menonnite ission in America needed more workers and would have field for me among the American Indians.

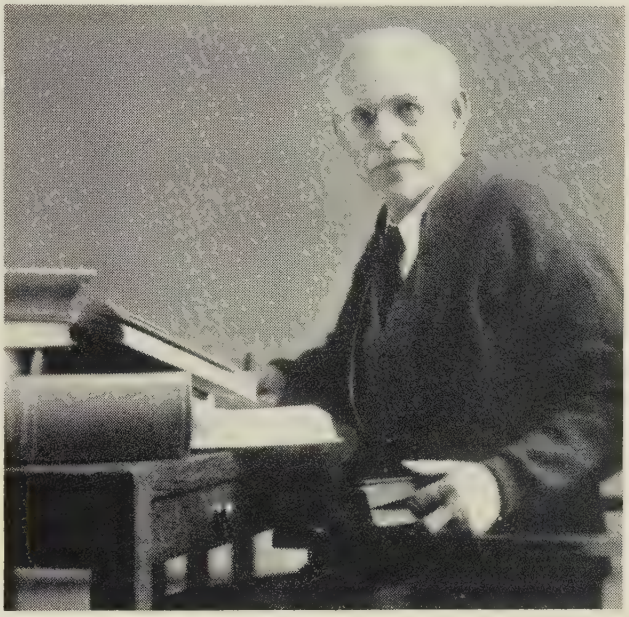
Thus I left Basel having completed my studies there nd then visited the Mennonite congregations in the ura mountains, in the Emmenthal, and in France. I joined em by being re-baptized by the saintly old Brother mmel. They adopted me as their missionary to be sent o the General Conference of Mennonites in America. he following months spent in visiting all these Swiss urches were blessed ones. Marie often accompanied me, pecially after we were married on May 14, 1890 in the urch at Tramelan.

The next fall we left our dear Switzerland for America.

My dear Marie and I knew God had called us and we were ready to leave all behind for His sake. Nevertheless it was hard to say goodbye to friends and relatives, especially to the dear mother of Marie whom she dared not hope to see again. We passed through Basel on our way to take our boat in Antwerp and there in Basel she could not keep from crying all afternoon, though she ever had a sunny disposition. When finally the distant Alps of our *liebe schweizer Heimat* (dear Swiss homeland) disappeared from our view, our hearts were torn with anguish. In Antwerp we boarded a ship of the Red Star Line and after twelve days we landed in New York on the seventh of August, 1890.

Editorial Note: Rodolphe Petter published his later experiences in *Reminiscences of Past Years in Mission Service Among the Cheyennes.*

Rodolphe Petter at his desk as a missionary to the Cheyennes in Montana. Large volume on desk is his English-Cheyenne Dictionary, compiled by him.



Mrs. Rodolphe Petter at the desk which her husband occupied during a lifetime of scholarship and devotion as a linguistic missionary. This picture, taken in 1954, shows a corner in the Petter Memorial Exhibit on display in the Bethel College Historical Library. On desk are manuscript volumes of grammar and dictionary, translations of Bible portions, grammar published in 1952, and personal copy of Petter's English-Cheyenne Dictionary containing innumerable additions of words and meanings on interleaved pages and on margins. The Petter Exhibit includes a large display of Indian artifacts. Multigraph used to print most of Petter's translations is shown at right.

"Plowing the steppes of the Ukraine" from painting by J. P. Klassen. Scene was typical at the turn of the century. Landwirtschaft unter den Mennoniten in Russland. "Das Pfluggespann," Gemälde von J. P. Klassen.

AGRICULTURE AMONG THE MENNONITES OF RUSSIA

BY CORNELIUS KRAHN

The agricultural achievements of the Mennonites in Russia represent one of the most unique contributions of Mennonitism as a whole. Some of the factors that made their achievements so outstanding were their thrift and industry coupled with their experiences as pioneers along the Vistula River where they came from. The vast space of the steppes of the Ukraine and the traditional large families were also significant. The wheat culture introduced on a large scale caused a great change in the economic and cultural life of the Mennonites and made their rapid spread possible. Yet the achievements of the Mennonites in the use of the "plow" cannot be separated from their use of the Bible. Convictions derived from the Bible caused them to move to the Ukraine and later to leave it. They were also the source of inspiration and strength while guiding the plow and tilling the soil to make it productive.

When the Mennonites came to the Ukraine at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century they setled on he barren steppes. Pioneering conditions made large scale grain raising impossible and the distance to the market made it unprofitable. Thus, stock farming, particularly the breeding of sheep, became the chief occupation. In the early years the Chortitza settlement received through the Guardian's Committee some thirty merinos for which 18,200 acres of reserved land were set aside. By 1819 the flock consisted of 1,000 head. The beginning at the Molotschna settlement was very much the same. A severe winter in 1812-1813 caused great losses, not only of sheep but also of horses and cattle. In 1825 the Guardian's Committee charged Johann Cornies with the task of restocking not only the flocks of the Mennonites, but also of the other colonists in the province of Taurida. He purchased sheep from the czar's own flocks and also imported some rams from Saxony. At that time the average Mennonite farm had between 125-150 sheep. Wool found a ready market in the mills of Ekaterinoslav and other

aces. Sheep breeding reached its highest point between 36 and 1841 and then began to decline because of the creased competition of fine wool from overseas and so the increase of grain production in the Ukraine.

Cattle and Horses

The breeding of horned cattle was of greater value and longer duration than that of sheep. The early settlers Chortitza and Molotschna brought with them a considerable number of East Frisian cattle. Under the leadership of Cornies, the chairman of the Agricultural Association, the Mennonites adopted a scientific method of crossing their cattle with local breeds in order to hasten the process of acclimatization. The crossing was made with carefully selected specimens of the East Frisian cattle which they had brought along and the Ukrainian gray cattle as well as Kalmuk cattle. The product of this crossing became known as a Molotschna Cow or the German Red Cow *(Krasnaya Nemka)*. The average annual milk production per cow was upward of 580 gallons and the fat-content was 3.8 to 4 per cent. The breeding of the pure East Frisian cow was also continued. The Mennonites found a good market for butter and cheese in the cities of Berdyansk, Sevastopol, Evpatoria, Kerch, Taganrog and Ekaterinoslav. The sale of cattle to outsiders at this time was a very important factor. In 1836, 51 head of cows were sold in the Molotschna settlement while in 1845 the number had risen to 1429, declining again to 840 in 1846.

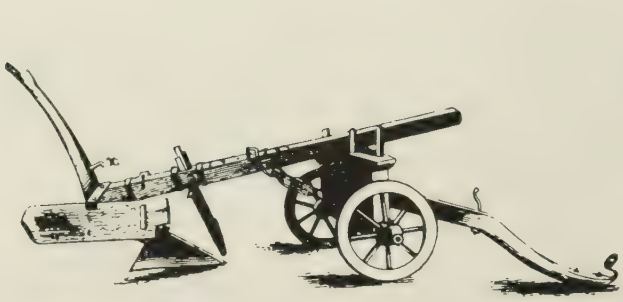
The horses which the immigrants brought from West Russia degenerated during the first decades in Russia. Efforts at improving them were made through the use of stallions of local breeds which were obtained from the Don Cossacks and later through the use of government studs. The product obtained through this crossing was a combination of farm and carriage horse. It was strongly built, of medium height and usually black or roan in color. With the increase of grain farming, the demand for draft power also increased. In 1836 the average number of horses per farm in the Molotschna settlement amounted to 6.2; by 1841 it had increased to 8.4 and to 10.6 in 1855.

During the first decades of the settlement the cultivation of land played a minor role. The land in the immediate neighborhood of the village was usually used for grazing purposes only. Wheat, oats, potatoes, flax and vegetables were raised on distant fields of not more than 14-27 acres per farm. Drought made farming risky. Another handicap was the lack of agricultural machinery.

Agricultural Association

The greatest change and influence on the agricultural and economic life came through the Agricultural Association and its lifelong chairman, Johann Cornies. After Cornies had demonstrated on his estates what progress could be made in the raising of cattle, horses, sheep, and trees, he not only exercized a tremendous influence on the surrounding Mennonite and non-Mennonite population, through his example, but also through the Agricultural Association, which was sponsored and supervised by the Guardian's Committee, a government agency. In 1845 he had 22,000 merinos on two estates and his herd of horses on one estate numbered 500. His sheep, cattle, and horses were sought far and near. Through the introduction of summer fallowing, fall plowing, rotation of crops, and other means, he demonstrated the successful raising of grain in the steppes. Neither of his estates bore a trace of a tree when Cornies acquired them. By 1845 he had some 35 acres of shade trees, about 16 acres of fruit trees and a large nursery. Thus his estates became an ex-

Herd of cattle on the Isaac Sudermann Estate, Ukraine, 1900.



Plow and threshing stone as used by Mennonites in the pioneering years in Russia.
Einfacher Pflug und "Ausfahrstein" aus der Pionierzeit in Russland.

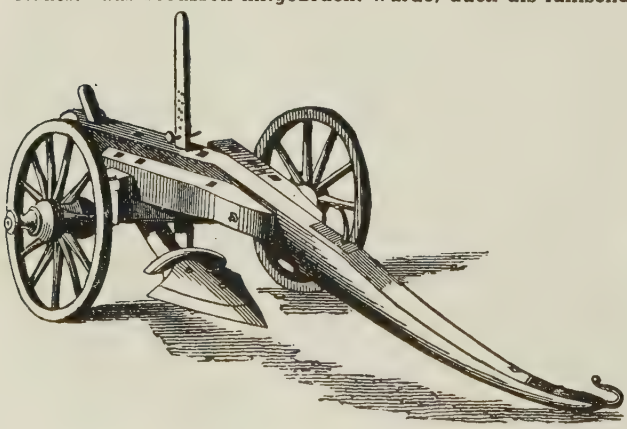
perimental station where the surrounding farmers obtained advice and help and were enabled to improve their stock and farming methods. The Guardian's Committee empowered him to enforce rules and regulations regarding improvements of farming methods and the economy of the settlement in general. Under the supervision of the Agricultural Association orchards and shade trees were planted. After 20 years more than 5 million trees had been planted in the 47 villages of the Molotschna. Among the fruit trees grown at this time were grapevines and mulberries, the latter for their leaves, which were fed to the silkworms. For a while the silk industry was one of the main sources of income. In 1835 Cornies made it obligatory in the whole Molotschna settlement to summer fallow some land. Simultaneously he introduced the following rotation of crops: summer fallow, barley, wheat, and rye. In 1845 this rotation schedule was also introduced in the Chortitza settlement. New methods of farming were soon followed by increased yields.

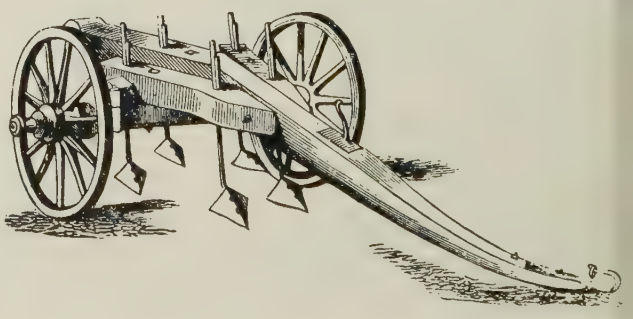
Cornies exercised a great influence among the Mennonites, other colonists, the surrounding Russians, especially the Dukhobers and the Molokans, as well as the native tribes, such as Kalmuks, Tatars and others. To all of them he was a friend and advisor, trusted and honored. It has sometimes been said that the Mennonites failed to do mission work among the surrounding population. There is hardly anywhere in the history of the Mennonites an example that exceeds this one in the Ukraine, where the neighboring population was given an opportunity to watch the demonstration of consecrated Christian living, benefiting by the advice and the help extended to it.

The Landless and New Settlements

The years around 1860 marked not only a religious but also an economic and agricultural crisis in the history of the Mennonites of Russia. The number of families increased rapidly and it was prohibited to parcel out the normal sized farms. By 1860 nearly two-thirds of the Molotschna families were landless. These landless had no voice in the village and district assemblies. Theoretically any Mennonite who wished to take up farming was entitled to the legal norm of 175 acres of land as long as there was reserve or surplus land. In practice it was, however, different. The Guardian's Committee required that every applicant for land should possess from 1,000-2,000 rubles in order to start farming on a regular scale because of the feeling that all Mennonite farmers had to be "model farmers." This limited the number of those who were able to start to a very few. Besides, the Guardian's Committee had leased the surplus land to the settlement as grazing land for the community flocks and to large scale sheep rangers. Cornies favored the distribution of this land among the landless, but after his death the reactionary element among the colonies obtained control

Pioneer plow used to cultivate summer fallow. The two-foot share has been replaced (right) by five small ones. This implement originated in Prussia and was called *Bugger*.
"Haken" aus Preussen mitgebracht wurde, auch als fünfschariger Bugger, gebraucht um die Schwarzbrache zu bearbeiten.





Bugger used to plow summer fallow and sow grain. Two-bottom plow used before first World War.
"Drillpflug," letzte Phase des Bugger, und zweischariger Pflug wurden in mennonitischen Fabriken hergestellt.

the district offices. Finally in 1866 through an imperial cree, the Guardian's Committee was instructed to grant e right of voting to all homestead-owning colonists re-rdless whether they owned farm land or not and to dis-bute some of the reserve and surplus land at the Mo-schna among the landless. By 1869 some 50,000 acres d been distributed to 1,563 families.

The next step toward the solution of the problem was e creation of a colonization fund. Thus, the conflict nich lasted for more than ten years, finally resulting in e adaption of a colonization system, subsequently so rfected that it could readily be called a model system, nereby the younger generations were provided with land very easy terms. Only because of this could Mennon-s establish as many daughter colonies as they did in any provinces from the Ukraine to the Amur River. nis again determined the course of the agricultural and onomic life and the status of prosperity they attained. ost of the daughter colonies originated through the buy-g of land by the mother colonies of Chortitza and olotschna. The financial resources were obtained by ecial land taxes, loans made from banks and private dividuals, and the income from community land. It is timated that at the outbreak of World War I, Men-nites of Russia owned about 3 million acres of land nd the total number of Mennonites was over 100,000. s far as the land acquisition and distribution were con-cerned, the mother colonies owned about two-tenths of the total, the large estate owners about three-tenths and about five-tenths was owned by the daughter settlements. Some 384 Mennonite large estate owners possessed about 1 million acres of land of which a 50,000 acre ranch was the largest.

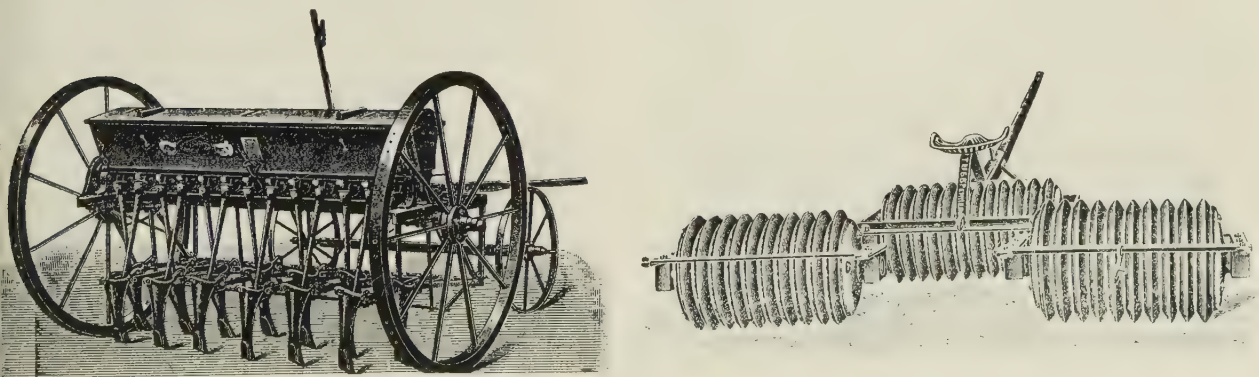
The Wheat Revolution

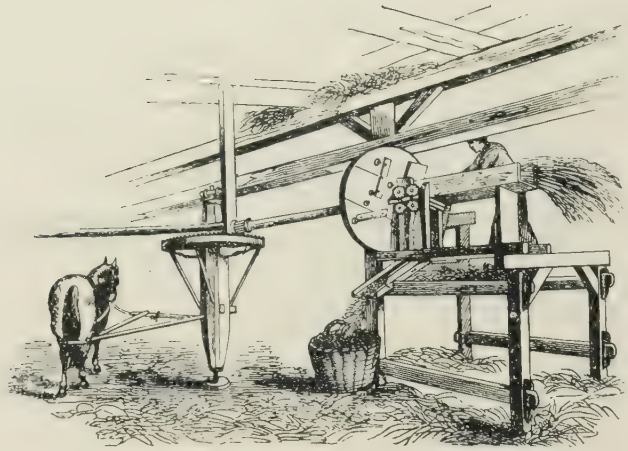
By 1860 a complete revolution took place in the field of agriculture. The once prospering silk industry and the raising of flax and tobacco gradually disappeared. The breeding of sheep lost its significance and that of cattle also decreased.

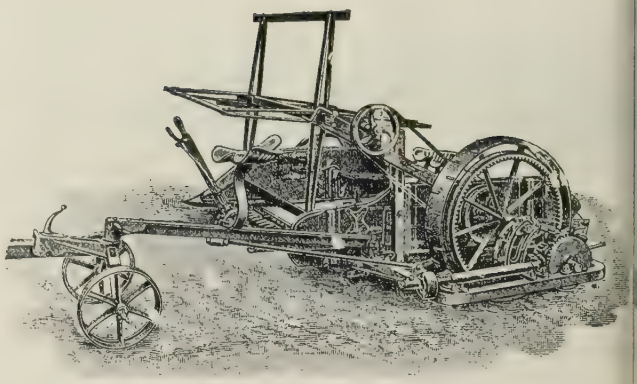
After 1860 Russian grain became more and more in demand in western European countries. In the early fifties the arable land on all average Mennonite farms of the Molotschna settlement had been about 60 acres, while in 1875 it averaged about 90 acres, and in 1888 it amounted to about 120 acres per farm, and the land prices had increased considerably. The expansion of the area of cultivation had now nearly reached its limit. The typical 175-acre Mennonite farm of the Molotschna settlement was apportioned as follows: for house and garden plot 6 acres, for tree plantations about 2½ acres, for pastures and meadows about 46 acres and for arable land about 120 acres. A similar expansion of grain farming took place in the Chortitza settlement.

The added land under cultivation was used chiefly for

Drill and culti-packer manufactured and used by Mennonites in Russia at the turn of the century.
Sämaschine und "Ringelwalze" waren in verschiedenen Grössen und Fabrikaten im Gebrauch.





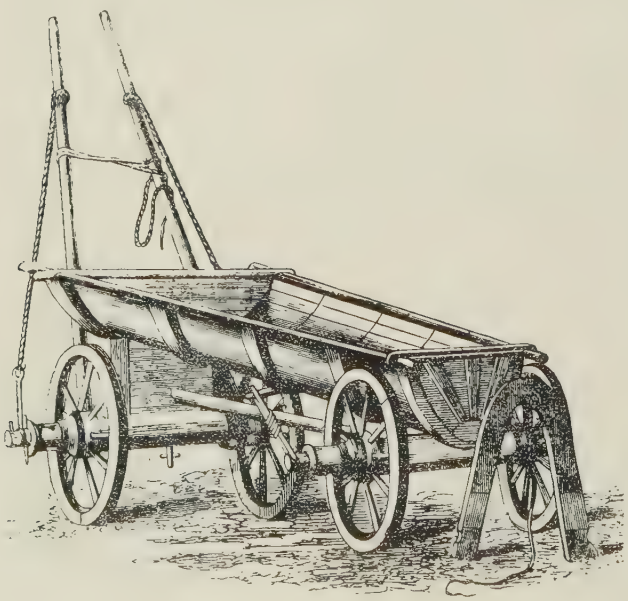


Pioneer forage cutter (left) in operation and an early form of reaper used in wheat harvesting.
Primitive Häckselmaschine und "Lobogrejka" (Mähmaschine). Letztere war eine typische mennonitische Erfindung.

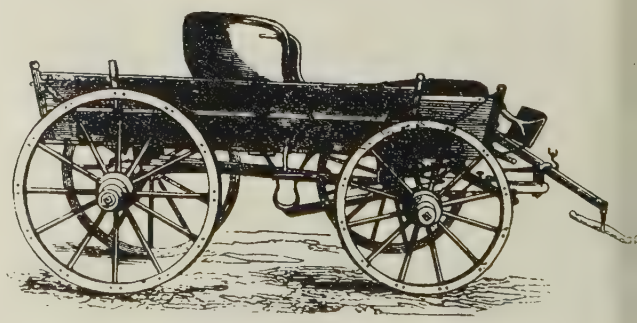
bread grains to an almost total exclusion of forage crops. Simultaneously, grain production on these farms became more and more commercialized, that is, an ever increasing amount of grain was produced for the market instead of for home consumption. By 1880 wheat had become the most predominant crop. Originally, summer wheat was the predominant variety produced by the Mennonites. Gradually hard winter wheat was introduced and soon became prominent. This was the native variety grown along the coast of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. Around 1850 the London market began to appreciate the quality of this wheat because of the strength of the flour it produced. A growing demand for the same, the concentration of the Mennonites and others on wheat farming, and the opening of ports along the Black Sea and the sea of Azov soon made the Ukraine the granary of Europe. According to H. D. Seymour the ports of Berdjansk and Mariupol near the Molotschna settlement shipped the best quality of wheat. Cornelius Jansen stated that the Mennonites of the Molotschna settlement produced about half a million bushels of wheat in the year 1855. The hard red winter wheat variety raised by the Mennonites was known under the name *Krimka*. In America it became known as the hard Red Turkey variety. It is rust resistant, winter hardy and very well adapted for baking. When the Mennonites, coming to Kansas in 1874, brought with them this variety of wheat, Bernhard Warkentin and Mark A. Carleton imported it in larger quantities for seed. Thus, the prairie states and provinces became the bread basket of America as the Ukraine had become the bread basket of Europe.

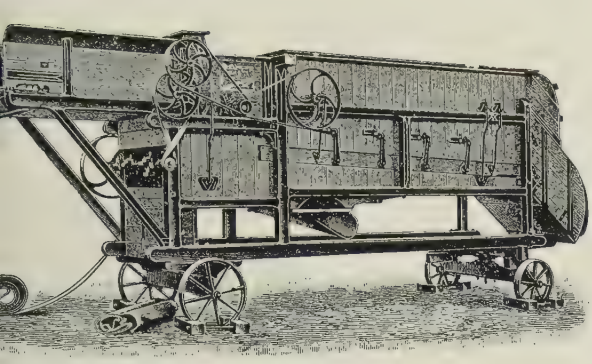
Crop Rotation

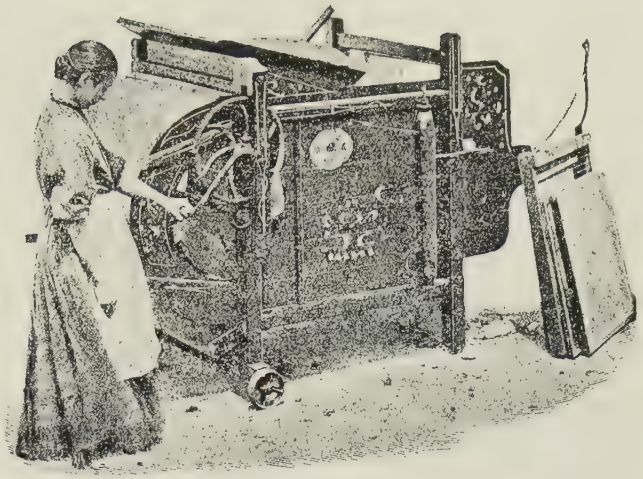
Originally the Mennonites used the four-field rotation system. Three-fourths of the land under cultivation was sowed to grain and the remainder left for summer fallow, part of which was planted with potatoes, corn, sunflowers, watermelons, etc. A typical crop cycle in Chortitza and Molotschna until the sixties was as follows: Summer fallow, barley, wheat, rye, and oats. During the seventies and eighties the summer fallow was reduced considerably. One of the common crop cycles now was: Summer fallow, winter wheat, barley, spring wheat, rye, or oats. At the turn of the century a more balanced system of farming was achieved by putting more acreage under corn, potatoes, watermelons, pumpkins, etc. Hardly



Primitive Russian wagon (left) and Mennonite farm wagon.
Russischer Wagen and mennonitischer Arbeitswagen.







esher and fanning mill manufactured by Mennonites.

In mennonitischen Fabriken hergestellte Dreschmachine und "Putzmühle."

commercial fertilizer was used among the Mennon-. Manure, however, was universally applied.

The Birth of Industry

Because of the enormous expansion of the crop area ring this period, the preparation of the soil did not essarily improve in spite of the fact that better and re machinery could be obtained direct from Mennonite tories. Instead of plowing the land with a single fur- plow some large scale farmers began to use a multi- share or *Bugger* plow. Instead of plowing the land in fall as had been customary, some began to plow and in the spring, using the drill *Bugger*. Such practices re usually temporary and wherever the expansion of the p area had reached its limit the soil was again worked roughly. The summer fallow was worked continually order to kill all weeds and retain the moisture. The ennonites used machinery made mostly in their own ctories, among them plows, *Buggers*, harrows, drills, *bogreykas* (reapers), threshing machines, etc. During last decade prior to World War I American binders re- aced the *Lobogreyka*. The threshing which was originally done with a stone roller was later done by threshing machines, also produced in the Mennonite factories. Many thousands of seasonal workers of surrounding Russian communities found employment with Mennonites.

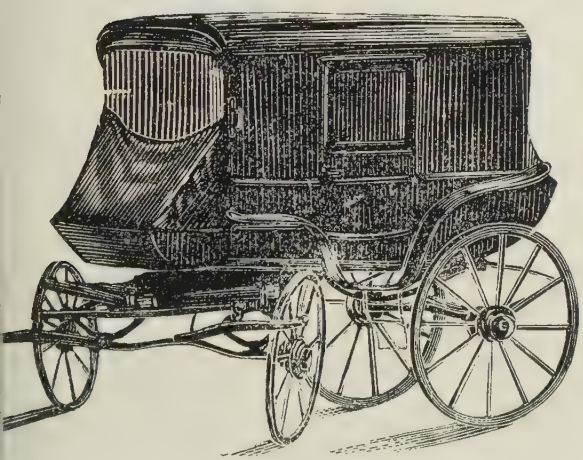
Parallel to the wheat revolution among the Mennonites of Russia, a Mennonite industry was born and developed in producing chiefly agricultural machinery. The first foundry was opened by Peter Lepp in 1860 in Chortitza. Before the first World War, the eight largest manufacturing plants had a combined return of more than 3 million rubles annually. Another result was a rapidly growing milling industry. Outstanding among the millers was Niebuhr and Co., Alexandrovsk, having an annual return of 3 million rubles. A flourishing commerce and trade also resulted from this development.

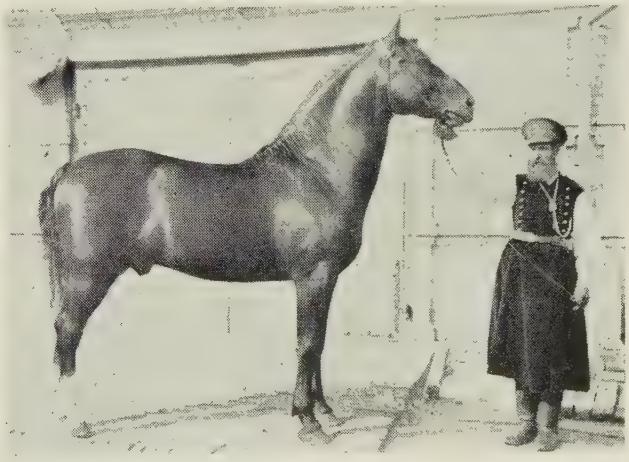
Improving the Livestock

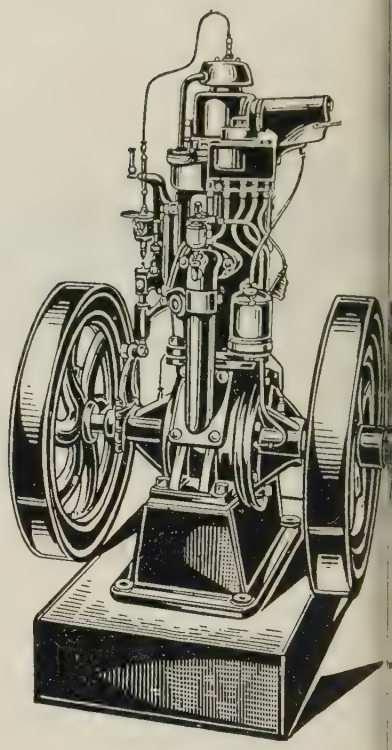
With the increased farming of arable land the breeding of sheep and dairy cattle decreased. Infusions of new blood upon the German Red stock were made through the Wilstermarch breed. The German Red cow became very popular far beyond the Mennonite settlements. They

Mennonite enclosed carriage and Oldenburger stallion held by Russian caretaker.

Mennonitischer "Federwagen" (Kutsche) und Oldenburger Hengst.







Blumenort, Molotschna, windmill symbol of Dutch-Mennonite tradition and (right) motor manufactured by Heinrich Schroeder. Internal combustion and steam motors replaced wind and horse power by the turn of the century.

Blumenorter Windmühle und Schröder Motor. Motore und Dampfkessel ersetzten allmählich primitivere Arbeitsmethoden.

were exported to the Caucasus, Turkestan, Siberia, and even Turkey. The Mennonites of the Trakt or Koeppental settlement, Samara, developed their own breed of dairy cattle starting with Dutch cattle which they brought from Prussia and crossing them with the German Red cow of the Ukraine and other breeds. They produced the so-called Menno Dutch cattle, with an exceptionally good quality and quantity of milk. After the Russian Revolution these cattle were also introduced into other provinces beside Samara.

The expansion of the cultivated area required an increased supply of draft power, which was furnished exclusively by horses. The horses used by the Mennonites were known as the "colonist horse" which in quality and appearance was superior to the common horse. This breed was improved by crossing it with imported Belgian and Dutch sires; carriage horses were improved chiefly by Russian stock. These improvements were first made on the Mennonite estates whence the horses found their way into the villages.

The Revolution and After

Various phases of Russian Communism destroyed not only Mennonite agriculture in Russia, but also the Mennonite settlements as a whole. The Revolution of 191 with the Civil War following it, the nationalization of all land, and the subsequent famine of 1921-22 were only the introduction to the great tragedy. During the New Economic Policy (NEP) some 25,000 Mennonites took advantage of the opportunity to leave the country and to establish new homes in Canada and South America, while those that remained recuperated somewhat from the first blows and tried to adjust themselves to the new condi

(Continued on page 35)

PLOWING AND SOWING

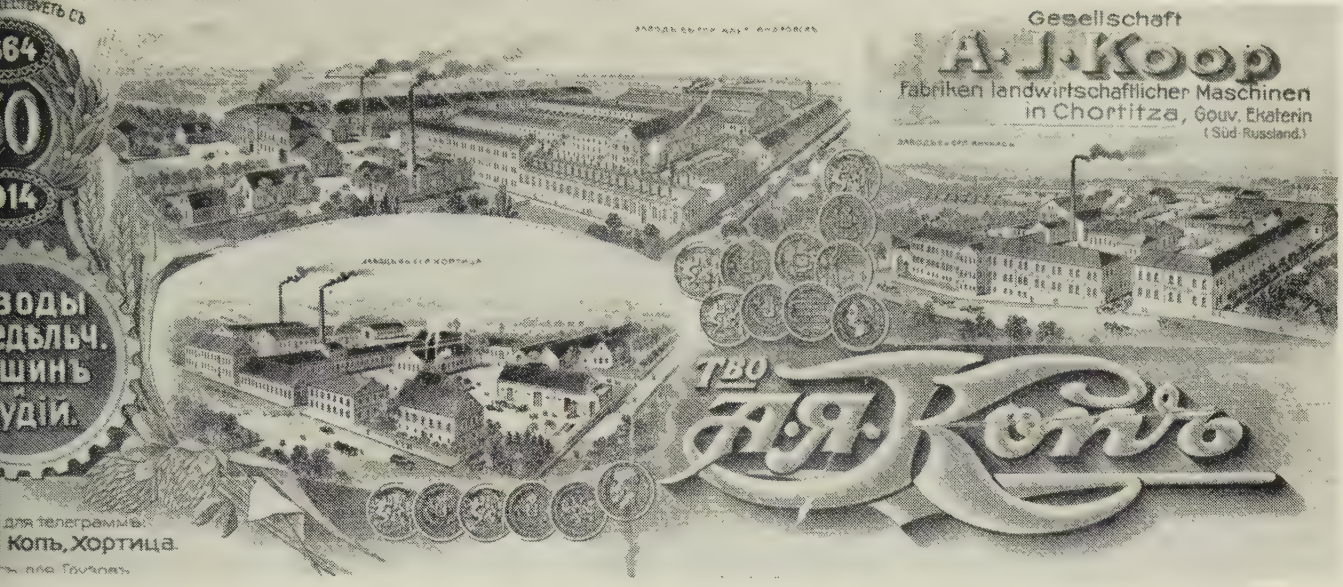
Again and again I thank God for His grace in keeping us so near nature. God is our father, the soil is our mother, nature is our teacher, toil is our experience and our treasure, life is our goal. . . . Pale and hungry many wrestle in despair of their daily bread while the soil makes ample provision for what we need. . . . Between smokestacks and apartment homes people race frantically across the sweltering pavement in pursuit of the elusive fortune which beckons some and buries others alive. Our goal is not success, but peace; not frivolity and lust, but solace in God, to achieve life; not incident or fate, but rather providence, strength, love, and discipline. Thus blessed are Christian tillers of the soil—privileged to plow and sow.

—J. Rempel (Free translation from *Unser Blatt*, 1926, p. 273).

PFLUEGEN UND SAEEN

Ich muss immer wieder Gott danken, dass er uns so begnadigt hat, dass wir der Natur so nahe bleiben dürfen Gott ist unser Vater, die Scholle unsere Mutter, die Natur unser Lehrer, die Arbeit unsere Erfahrung und Reichtum das Leben unser Ziel. . . . Bleich und hungrig schleichen viele Gestalten dahin in verzweifeltem Ringen um tägliche Brot, während die Mutter-Scholle uns immer das nötige gibt. Zwischen Schloten und geordneten Steinhaufen rennen die Menschen auf brennendem Pflaster nach dem Glücke. . . . Unser Ziel ist nicht Glück, sondern Frieden, nicht Zerstreuung in Lust und Genuss,sondern Sammlung in Gott. . . . nicht Zufall noch Schicksal, sondern Vorsehung, Kraft, Liebe und Zucht. So begnadigt sind wir Christen auf dem Lande die wir pflügen und säen dürfen

—J. Rempel, *Unser Blatt*, 1926, p. 273



MENNONITE INDUSTRY IN RUSSIA

In 1911 the eight largest Mennonite factories producing agricultural machinery and implements accounted for 10 per cent of the total of such output in South Russia and 6.2 per cent of the output of all Russia. The following table lists these factories showing total annual production in terms of ruble and personnel employed.

Firm	*Annual Production*		*Total Employed*
Epp and Wallmann	900,000	Rubles	270
A. J. Koop	610,000	"	376
G. Niebuhr	450,000	"	350
J. Neufeld & Co.	350,000	"	200
A. & W. J. Classen	241,000	"	145
Lanz and Schröder	209,190	"	153
A. Klassen & Neufeld	200,442	"	140
Jansen and K. Neufeld	200,000	"	110

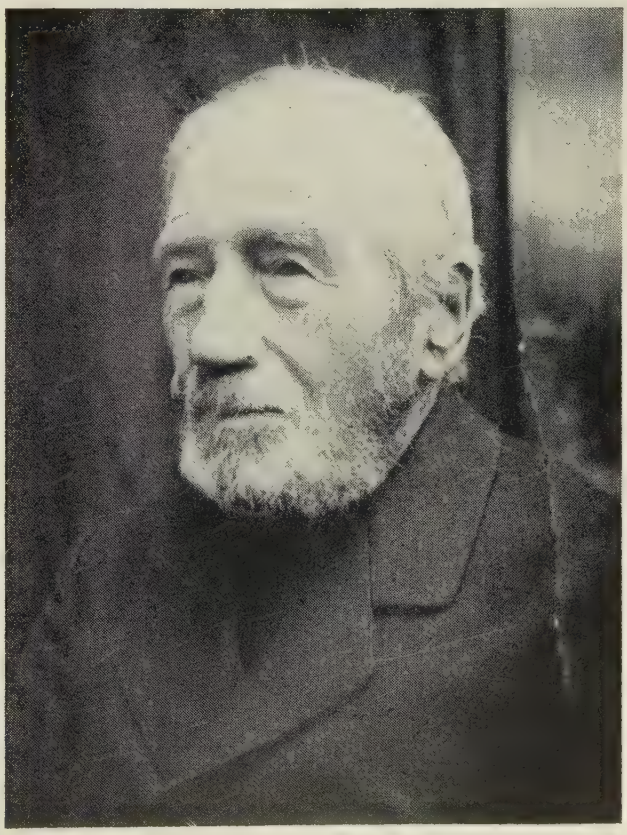
(From A. Ehrt, *Das Mennonitentum in Russland*. Berlin, 1932. p. 91f).

Mennonite agricultural machinery not only found its way to the communities of the Ukraine but also in remote places of Siberia. P. I. Wiens store (below) in Slavgorod, Siberia, selling Mennonite-manufactured agricultural machinery (reapers, threshing stones and fanning mills).

(Top) Letterhead of A. J. Koop factory, Chortiza, comemorating 50th anniversary, 1864-1914.

(Below) A. J. Koop, founder of a Mennonite industry in Russia.

A. J. Koop war einer der Begründer der mennonitischen Industrie in Russland, die 10% aller landwirtschaftlichen Maschinen der Ukraine herstellte.



Kornelius Hildebrand in his workshop, out of which grew the Hildebrand and Pries agricultural implement factory at Chortitza, worth half-million ruble and employing nearly 200 people. Letterhead below gives the name of the Firm, K. Hildebrand and Pries Factories of Agricultural Machinery at Chortitza and Alexandrovsk. Above name of firm are featured awards received at expositions.

Kornelius Hildebrand in seiner Werkstube und Hildebrand und Pries Fabriken in Chortitza Alexandrowsk, Südrussland.

Hildebrand and Pries Factory and Division Crews, 1908.

Foundry crew (top), forging crew (right), and (below) administration and some finished products.

Verschiedene Arbeitsabteilungen und Verwaltung der Fabrik Hildebrand und Pries.

Lepp and Wallmann agricultural implement factory at Chortitza, one of the largest of its kind. Peter Lepp established the first foundry in Chortitza in 1860.

Lepp und Wallman Fabrik in Chortitza, Südrussland, (rechts Niebuhr-Mühle) war eines der grössten Unternehmungen dieser Art.

Administration of K. Hildebrand and Pries factory, Chortiza, Ukraine, August 3, 1908.

J. G. Niebuhr, founder of the Niebuhr factories and his oldest son J. J. Niebuhr, author of article.
J. G. Niebuhr, Begründer der Niebuhr-Fabriken, und Söhne: Jakob, Peter und Gerhard.

Jakob G. Niebuhr Fabriken

VON JAKOB J. NIEBUHR

Mein Urgrossvater, Jakob Niebuhr (geboren den 10. ugust, 1766, gestorben den 27. März, 1835), wohnte in egenhof an der Weichselmündung, Westpreussen, wo eine Windmühle hatte. Mit anderen Auswanderern ssierte er im März, 1789, die russische Grenze und s sich in Alt-Kronsweide, Chortitzer Gebiet, Süd-Russland, nieder, wo er eine Windmühle baute und daneben eine Brotbäkerei hatte. Unter seinen 5 Söhnen befand sich Gerhard (geboren den 10. Juni 1818, gestorben den 5. April 1856). Dieser war mein Grossvater. Mein Vater Jakob G. Niebuhr (geboren den 20. Oktober, 1847, in Kronstal, gestorben den 23. Januar, 1913, im

P. J. and G. J., two younger Niebuhr brothers, co-owners of the Niebuhr factories.

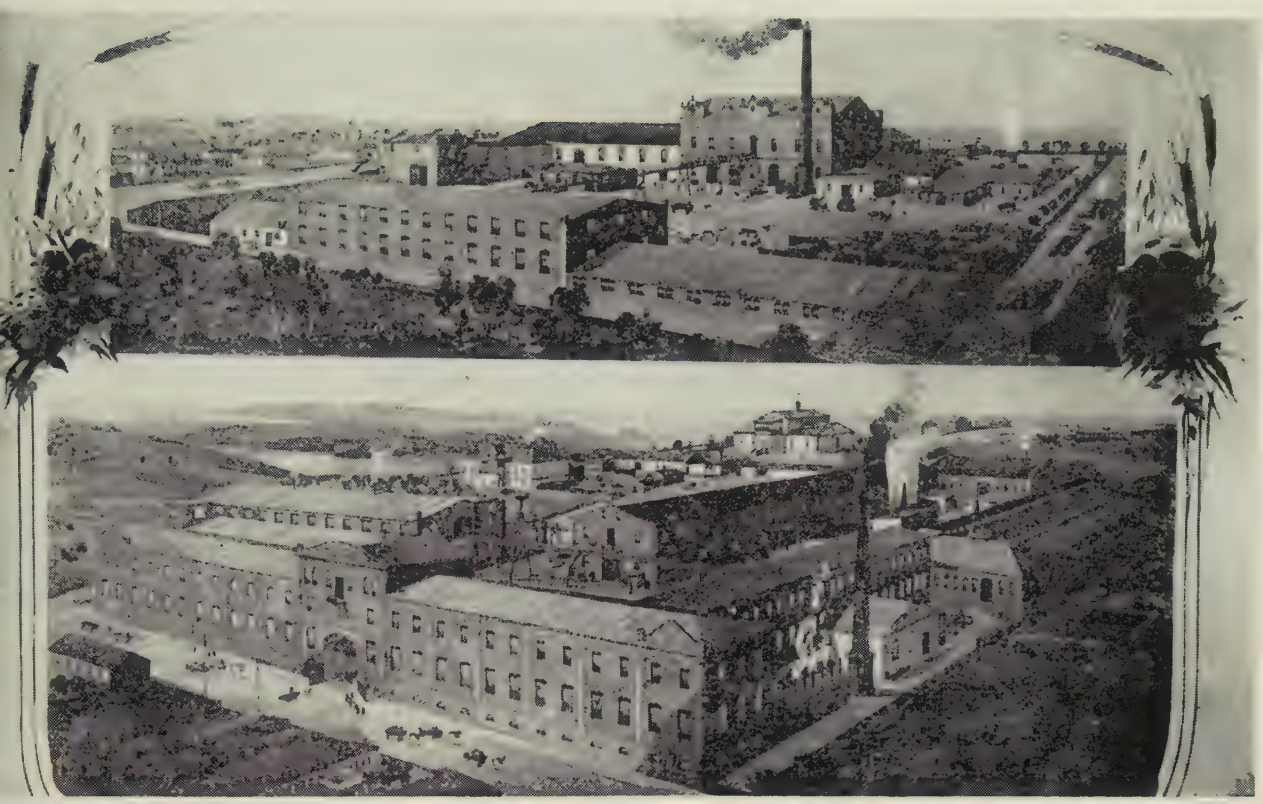
Niebuhr factory and one of the crews of the New York, Bachmut, Ukraine, factory division.
Niebuhr-Fabrik in New York, Bachmut, mit einer Arbeitsabteilung und (unten) hergestellte Maschinen.

Dorfe New York, Bachmuter Kreis, Jekaterinslaw) verlor seinen Vater jung. Die Kinder wurden bei anderen Leuten untergebracht und so kam mein Vater als etwa 8-jähriges Büblein zu Peter Dyck in Nieder-Chortitza, wo er zwei Winter die Dorfschule besuchte. Er kam darauf zu seinem Onkel Abraham Niebuhr in Chortitza und arbeitete in dessen Trittmühle (eine Mühle mit Pferdebetrieb).

Die erste Erfindung

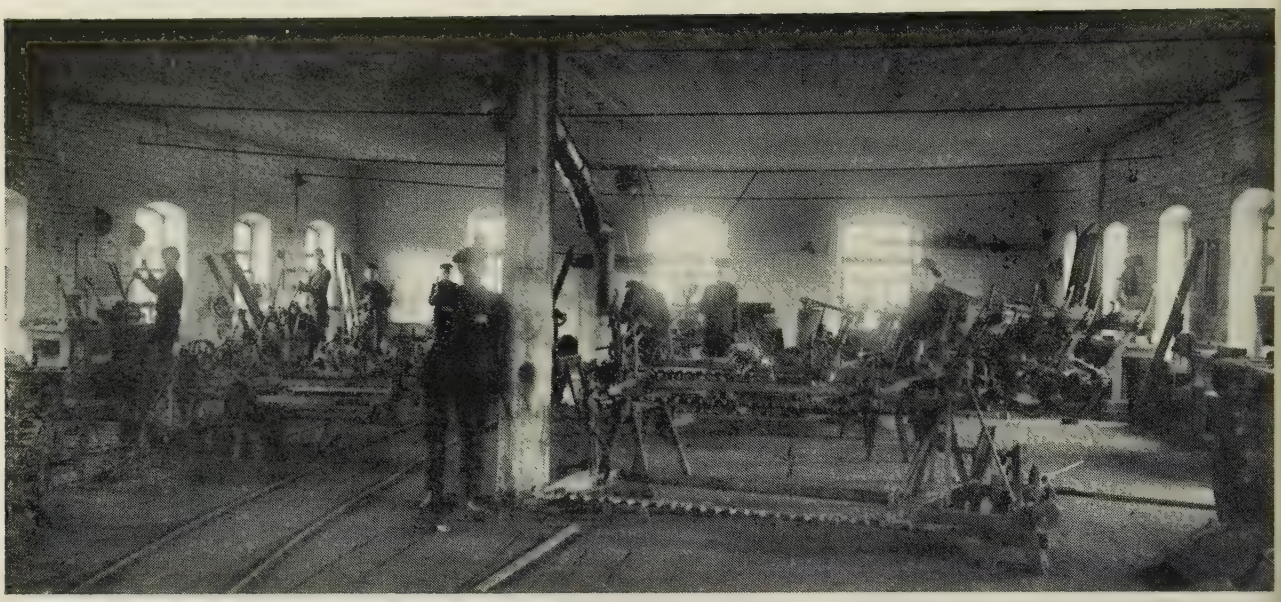
In dieser Zeit machte er seine erste Erfindung, bestehend in einer sinnreichen Vorrichtung, welche ihn rechtzeitig weckte, wenn das Mahlgut im Trichter zur Neige ging. Den 18. Januar 1868 trat er in den Stand der Ehe und bald darauf nahm er den Dienst in einer Trittmühle im Städtchen Nikopol an. Er kaufte ein Haus mit Einkehrhof und da ihn auch dieser Erwerbszweig nicht befriedigen konnte, kehrte er nach Chortitza zurück. Dieses geschah kurz vor der Ernte und als er bei seinen Freunden und Bekannten Roggen gemäht hatte, lud ihn Abraham Koop (ein Vetter meiner Mutter), der neben seiner Wirtschaft eine Schmiede besass, ein darin zu arbeiten. Koop war im Begriff eine Drehbank für Eisen zu beschaffen, um die vielen Bestellungen der Tischler der Umgegend, welche Getreidereinigungsmaschinen bauten, wozu sie der Beschläge aus Eisen, wie die Flügelwelle, Kurbeldrehgriff der Zahngetriebe und Lager benötigten, ausführen zu können. Diese Maschine wurde allgemein "Putzmühle" genannt und ersetzte das Reinigen des Getreides im Winter. Die erste Lieferung fiel zur allgemeinen Zufriedenheit aus und als dann grössere Aufträge von etlichen 200-300 Putzmühlenbeschlägen gemacht werden sollten wurde Koop ängstlich und lehnte den Auftrag ab. Rasch borgte mein Vater das dazu erforderliche Geld, fuhr nach Odessa, kaufte das Eisen

Some of the products of the J. G. Niebuhr factory: reaper, thresher, and drill.



J. G. Niebuhr factories at Olgafeld, Fürstenland (top), and New York, Bachmut, both located in South Russia.
Allgemeine Ansicht der Fabriken in New York, Bachmut, und Olgafeld, Fürstenland, und Verwaltung.
ll photographs of the Niebuhr factory were taken from an album commemorating their thirtieth anniversary in 1911.
Property of Frank F. Doerksen, Eyebrow, Saskatchewan.

The administration of the J. G. Niebuhr factory at New York, Bachmut, South Russia.



Assembly line and woodworking shop (bottom) of the New York Niebuhr factory.

und eine Drehbank, bestellte in der Fabrik der Firma Lepp und Wallmann die Gusseisenteile und führte die grosse Bestellung aus, wobei er einen namhaften Gewinn erzielte. Von da an war mein Vater circa 11 Jahre der Werkführer der aufblühenden Koop-Fabrik.

Da der Werkführer bei der Firma Lepp und Wallmann namens Wurzler einen Tageslohn von 4 Rubel erhielt, während mein Vater für 1.50 Rubel arbeitete, bat auch er um eine geringe Lohnzulage, welche jedoch abgelehnt wurde. Dies war kurz vor dem Osterfest. Meine Eltern fuhren zu Ostern zu des Vaters Bruder, Peter Niebuhr, der in Olgafeld auf dem Fürstenlande wohnte. Hier kaufte mein Vater eine Kleinwirtschaft, gab seinem Bruder den Grundriss einer zu bauenden Werkstube mit Schmiede ab und übergab ihm seine Ersparnisse von circa 800 Rubeln zum Bau derselben. Er kehrte zurück nach Chortitza, meldete seine Abrechnung bei Koop an und am 11. November, 1881, kam er in Olgafeld an.

Anfang in Olgafeld

Anfänglich wurden meistens Reparaturen an landwirtschaftlichen Maschinen gemacht, dann wurde ein soge-

View in foundry of the New York branch of the J. G. Niebuhr factory about 1910.
Niebuhr Giessereiabteilung, Fertigstellung der Mähmaschinen (links, oben) and Tischlereiabteilung (links, unten).

nntes "Rosswerk" oder Göpelwerk aufgestellt, um mit ferdebetrieb eine Drehbank zu betreiben und es wurden ufträge von den Tischlereien in dem grossen Dorfe amenka am Dnepr bei Nikopol auf Putzmühlenbe-hläge entgegengenommen, wobei die Eisengussteile von oop aus Chortitza bezogen wurden. Diese Aufträge eigerten sich von 200-300 Beschläge bis auf 2,000-500 jährlich. Dazu kam der Vertrieb der Koopschen Iähmaschinen. Anfänglich waren es 10-20 Stück jähr-ch und später wurden es bis 300 Stück. Diese Maschi-en berechnete Koop mit 160 Rubel pro Stück und erkauft wurden sie für etwa 200 Rubel.

Ein alter Bekannter, Nikolaus Harder in Osterwick, chtete seine Mühle für Hochmüllerei ein und verkaufte einem Vater eine Dampfmaschine mit zwei Steinmahl-ühlen. Etwa 1886 wurde das Gebäude mit Maschinen-aus für die Mühle und Schlosserei errichtet.

Ungefähr in dieser Zeit machte mein Vater als erster ne grundlegende und durchgreifende Erfindung in der ndustrie der landwirtschaftlichen Geräte und Maschinen. r stellte das Model eines Plugbaumes (Gründel) her elches er im 20 Werst entfernten Sergejewka bei Ab-ham Klassen giessen liess. Der erste Pflug, mit drei charen, "Bugger" genannt, war bald fertig. In den ahren von 1905 bis zum Weltkriege sind allein in nseren Werken in Olgafeld und New York jährlich 4,500 eser Buggerpflüge hergestellt worden und zwar 3, 4, 5, nd 6-scharig mit und ohne Säkasten. In den letzten 10 ahren wurden viele dieser Buggerpflüge mit einer atentierten Hebevorrichtung gebaut, bestehend in einem Zahnbogen und Schneckentrieb mit Handdrehkurbel. Vermittelst dieser sinnreichen Neuerung konnte man während der Arbeit durch Umdrehungen der Handkurbel alle Scharen gleichzeitig heben oder senken.

Im Jahre 1893 schickte mich mein Vater nach Deutschland in das Technikum zu Mittweida, Sachsen. Hier beendigte ich nach drei Semestern den Werkmeisterkursus. Nun wurde ich meinem Vater eine willkommene Hilfe bei seinen Erfindungen, indem ich die Berechnungen und Zeichnungen herstellte. In dieser Zeit wurde die Hofstelle mit Fabrikgebäude eines Peter Thiessen verkauft. Mein Vater und meine jüngeren Brüder, Peter und Gerhard, welche schon im Herbst 1898 von Olgafeld nach New York übergesiedelt waren, entschlossen sich diese kleine Fabrik zu kaufen.

Hoehepunkt der Industrie

In den neunziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts machte mein Vater eine Erfindung in der Mähmaschinen Industrie. Das sonst übliche Gerippe von mit Bolzen zusammengeschraubten Harthölzern ersetzte er durch einen aus Stahlwinkel zusammengeschraubtes Gerippe. Diese sogenannte Stahlrahmen-Mähmaschine verursachte einen völligen Umsturz in der Mähmaschinen Industrie. Abraham Koop bat um Vaters Genehmigung diese Art Mähmaschinen bauen zu dürfen, worauf er jährlich zehntausend dieser Mähmaschinen anfertigte. Vater erfand und bau teauch eine Reihen-Sämaschine mit fallenden Särohren (auch "Drille" genannt), von der in unseren Fabriken in einer Reihe von Jahren jährlich 4,500 an-

gefertigt wurden. Diese Maschine bewertete mein Vater höher als seine Stahlrahmen-Mähmaschine. Ausser einer weiteren Erfindung zweier Hilfsmaschinen fürs Werk, nämlich einer Holzhobelmaschine und einer Langlochbohrmaschine für Holzbearbeitung erfand er einen selbsttätigen Einsetzer für Dreschmaschinen.

In dem New Yorker Werk wurden ausser landwirtschaftlichen Maschinen Transmissionswellen, Lager, Riemenscheiben für Mühleneinrichtungen, zweiteilige Schwungräder für Dampfmaschinen bis zu 500 Pud oder circa 8,5 Tonnen Gewicht, Aufzugskräne, eine grandiose Plandrehbank, eine Bohrmaschine,- eine Eisenhobelmaschine, vermittels welcher Drehbänke in einem Strich bis zu 30 Fuss Länge gehobelt werden konnten, hergestellt. Ferner wurden Waggonetten für die umliegenden Kohlenbecken, Arbeitswagen, hydraulische Pressen für Oelschlägereien, zwei Riffelstühle zum Glattschleifen bzw. Schärfen der Walzen in den vielen Mühlen und zuletzt Naphtamotore zum Betrieb von Dreschmaschinen und für Bewässerunganlagen gebaut. Drei Dampfmaschinen und ein Motor waren zum Betrieb des Werkes eingestellt und ein Schmalspurschienennetz mit Waggonetten und ein Lift-Förderfahrstuhl halfen mit der Beförderung der Halb- und Ganzfabrikate in einen beliebigen Raum des Werkes und zuletzt in das Lagerhaus.

Niedergang

Mein Vater hinterliess mir und meinen zwei jüngeren Brüdern, Peter und Gerhard, drei Fabriken landwirtschaftlicher Maschinen, in welchen jährlich 20,000 grössere Maschinen wie, Sämaschinen ("Drillen"), Mähmaschinen, Buggerplüge, Dreschmaschinen, Naphtamotore usw. gebaut wurden. Zum Nachlass unseres Vaters gehörten noch zwei Mühlen, eine in Olgafeld mit der Fabrik kombiniert und die andere auf der Station Jelenowka in Gesellschaft mit Teilhaber. Beim Abschluss des Inventars 1912 ergab sich ein Nettvermögen von beinahe 1½ Millionen in Gold Rubel. Als der Weltkrieg am 1. August 1914 entbrannte ging es bald von Stufe zu Stufe bergab. Am 15. Oktober 1915 unterschrieben wir den Verkaufsakt des ganzen Werkes mit Aktiva und Passiva für den Spottpreis von 135,000 Rubeln. Als unser Käufer seine Wechsel einlöste war die allgemeine Geldentwertung in Russland eingetreten und auch dieses Geschehen schmälerte den Erlös beträchtlich und ehe wir zur Besinnung kamen waren wir bettelarm geworden. Meine Brüder flüchteten nach dem Amurgebiet. Der jüngere, Gerhard, verkaufte 1929 seine Habe und reiste nach Moskau, wurde in Kansk von der G.P.U. angehalten und zurückgeschickt. Ende Dezember flüchtete er über das Eis des Amurflusses nach China, verblieb zwei Jahre in Charbin und nach der Einnahme dieser Stadt durch die Japaner zog er nach Paraguay. Der Bruder nach mir, Peter, welcher in unserer ehemaligen Fabrik unter der Sowjetregierung einen Dienst als Ingenieur angenommen hatte, wurde anfangs 1933 von der G.P.U. repressiert und ist gestorben.

Ich wurde am 21. Mai, 1874 in Chortitza geboren und habe 50 Jahre auf Olgafeld, Fürstenland, gewohnt, von wo ich 1930 nach Einlage floh. Zur Zeit der deutschen Besatzung der Ukraine begaben wir uns 1942 nach Deutschland, wo meine Frau starb. Unsere 8 Kinder leben zerstreut in Russland und Amerika. Ich wohne bei einer Tochter in Ontario.

Administration of Niebuhr factory at Olgafeld. (Center) J. J. Niebuhr, author, at right, Quiring.
Verwaltungsbehörde der Niebuhr-Fabrik, Olgafeld (Mitte) J. J. Niebuhr, Verfasser des Artikels.

NON-COMBATANT SERVICE THEN AND NOW

BY FRANK C. PETERS

THERE are two problems connected with our peace position. The one is theological. We must search the Scriptures, our ultimate authority, in order ascertain whether our principle of non-resistance is lical or not. The second problem is practical and falls o the realm of Christian thought. How can we best ex-ss this biblical principle in times of war?

The disagreement within the brotherhood has not been much in the first area as in the second. We all concede t the Bible teaches love in opposition to violence and ce. Our problem has been, and still is: What method means shall we employ to realize this end, namely, nessing to the redemptive love of God in a lost world eped in sin?

Several views have been advanced as possible solu-ns. Some would enlist in the army, then gravitate to a sition which does not necessitate direct and personal plication of violence, and so witness for Christ. The ongruity of the situation does not seem to bother m. Their mind is set on the end, the means employed minimized or entirely overlooked. Others enter the ny but with a protest. By enlisting as non-combatants the army, they feel that they have cleared their posi-n and are protesting, in a measure at least, against war d violence. Others, equally concerned about an ade-ate expression of their witness, feel strongly that the ans and the end are essentially the same. Their wit-ss must be from a civilian position.

The scope of this paper shall be confined to the devel-ment of the alternative service program in Russia. We well to look to the development of the alternative vice program of the Mennonites of Russia because it came a testing ground for our principle of non-resis-nce. Furthermore, most of those who strongly advocate non-combatant position as the most adequate ex-ession of their protest against war look to the medical vice of the Mennonites of Russia during World War s a successful expression within the Mennonite confes-n of faith. To them, the non-combatant service in nerica is just an extension of what was first inaugurat-in Russia.

"Privileges" of the Mennonites in Russia

The Mennonites came to Russia upon the invitation of tharine, Empress of Russia. Catharine died in 1796 and s succeeded by her son Paul. The Mennonite colonists re concerned about their special privileges under a new ler and sent a delegation to St. Petersburg for the pur-se of securing a written statement from Paul which would guarantee the settlers that their former privileges would be continued. This delegation returned in 1800 with such a document. Of special interest to us is article six which reads in essence: "No one of the present Mennonite settlers, nor any of those who will settle in our domain in the future, including their children and descendents, shall be obliged to render military or civilian service unless they volunteer to do so." [1]

In 1870 the Russian government began to consider general conscription laws. Several conferences were held and several successive delegations were sent to St. Petersburg. It was the hope of the settlers that assurance of continued military exemption for the Mennonites might come from the government. Such assurance they did not receive but a counter-proposal by the Russian government suggested some form of alternative service.

The suggestion given to the first Mennonite delegation to St. Petersburg (1871) by Count Heyden, then president of the commission responsible for the draft of a general military training law, was that the Mennonites would not have to bear arms but would be called on to do some form of medical service. Even this would probably not come into effect for another twenty-five years. The next day the Mennonites gave their answer to the Count's proposal. They could not accept a medical service organized by the army. This displeased the Count and he suggested that the Mennonites would have to seek another land. [2]

A second visit to the capitol in 1873 gave them an audience with the Grand Duke Constantine Nikolayevitch who again assured them that complete exemption was no longer possible. The government would, however, respect the conscience of the Mennonites, assigning them to hospitals and industrial plants. The delegation expressed its willingness to render service which did not violate their conscience. To this the Duke replied: "But you are good Christians, and as such it is your duty to care for and help a wounded soldier." When the delegation began to explain that such medical service done under army law was quite different from a service rendered to soldiers as a civilian, the Duke suddenly terminated the discussian. [3]

The uncertainty of these deliberations at St. Petersburg created much disturbance among the Mennonite colonists. Plans were quickly made to emigrate to another country. Krahn says that "the fact that complete exemption from any form of service would not be extended and that the government considered a closer control of the Mennonite schools, caused a larger number of Mennonites to plan a migration to another country.

Mennonite young men in forestry service at Anedol camp, South Russia, prior to World War I.
Mennonitische Jungmannschaft beim Forsteidienst in Rusland.

Thus, disregarding all attempts of the government to meet them half way, approximately one-third of all Mennonites of Russia migrated to Canada and the United States." [4]

The general conscription laws were passed in 1874. The Czar sent a personal ambassador, General von Totleben, to the Mennonites in order that the situation might be explained and the stream of migration stopped. A special decree covering alternative service (May 14, 1875) outlined the program to the Mennonites. Three areas were open as avenues for alternative service: a) the workshops of the shipyards, b) fire departments, c) and forestry service.

After several meetings of the brotherhood the Mennonites accepted the forestry service as the most suitable expression of the alternative service for their country. Later they redefined their position to General von Totleben asking that their service should have no direct nor indirect connection with the army or the Department of War, and that their own ministers be given the privilege to attend to the spiritual needs of the young recruits. [6] The forestry service was planned in 1880 under the Department of Crownlands.

Medical Service in World War I

From 1881 when the first Mennonites were drafted to service in the forestry program until the beginning of World War I, this form of alternative service seems to have been quite acceptable. Not that there were no protests, nor that the men were entirely satisfied with this form of service. During the Crimean and Russo-Turkish wars Mennonites volunteered to go to the front lines as hospital workers to care for the wounded.[7] The colonies also contributed much money for relief during these times of national emergency.

When World War I broke out the sentiment of the Russian people living in the vicinity of the colonies was such that the Mennonites soon realized that they would have to undertake some form of service beyond forestry work. A delegation was sent to St. Petersburg and an agreement was effected by which the Mennonite boys would be mobilized as other Russian manpower, but the service required of the Mennonites would be one which would not necessitate the taking up of arms. It would be a medical service in hospitals and trains engaged in transporting the wounded from the front lines.

Besides the Red Cross, these medical men were active in two major organizations: The All-Russian Union of Towns and the All-Russian Union of Zemstvos for Relief of Sick and Wounded Soldiers.[8] The Red Cross organization followed much the pattern set by the International Red Cross Society at Geneva. The Russian branch was composed chiefly of government officials and was therefore more remote from the broader public. In organizing the Red Cross field hospitals for service at the front—and some Mennonite men served in these—the Red Cross put at their head representatives of the gentry as well as Zemstvo leaders.[9]

Since most of the men were under the Zemstvo Union, it becomes imperative for us to study the structure of this agency. Whenever grave public calamities threatened the country, the more intelligent elements of Russian society were found to be not only keenly alive to the needs of the situation, but anxious to do their best in the work of relief, through direct participation. It seems that the Russian government did not always look with favor upon public endeavors of this nature. It was the opinion of the government, that participation of public bodies in such activities could only complicate the work that had to be done. But in spite of this official attitude, attempts were made by civilian organizations to render direct aid to the sick and wounded soldiers. This was done in the Crimean War of 1854, when ladies belonging to the best Russian society made their appearance in military hospitals at Sevastopol, having at last induced the Emperor to grant them permission to render direct aid to the sick and wounded soldiers. The military authorities, however, as well as the medical staffs of these hospitals, received them in a spirit that was anything but cordial.[10]

Service under the Zemstvo

"The Zemstvos," writes Tikhon J. Polner, who was at one time a member of the executive committee of the Zemstvo Union, "were institutions of local government outside the urban areas." The term "Zemstvo" is derived

Zemstvo Mennonite ambulance unit (top) ready for service during World War I. Philip Cornies (left) and Gerhard Wiebe and Martin Unrau (bottom) as hospital workers in Russia during World War I.

Ambulanz dienstfertig während des ersten Weltkriegs. (Oben) Ph. Cornies als Sanitäter und (unten) Gerhard Wiebe und Martin Unrau als Sanitäter im Semsky Sojus, Moskau, 1917.

m the Russian word 'zemlya,' land, and is traditionally ociated with organizations of social groups connected h land, the landed gentry, and the farmers."[11] These itutions of the Zemstvos were built on the foundation free election and responsible to the population. Mem- s of the Zemstvo assemblies were elected for three rs. The whole work of these institutions of local gov- ment, therefore, was carried on under the control of voters. But at the same time the Zemstvos were re- nsible to the local officers of the central government l accepted the supervision of the Ministry of the In- or.[12]

The fundamental idea of the Zemstvos was the de- tralization of the Government and the transfer of cer- n rights and duties to the population itself. The Zems- Act provided that the new institutions of local gov- ment should take care of local needs and promote the l being of the population. When the Russo-Japanese r broke out, the Zemstvos knowing the unsatisfactory ditions of the army medical service, decided to help army by sending field hospitals and detachments to Far East. Of course this work was outside the sphere

attributed to the Zemstvos by law, but patriotic feeling refused to be subdued by legal technicalities.

This medical work in the Far East was done without the Russian governments sanction. It was done in complete secrecy. This seems peculiar to an American mind so familiar with "red tape" intervention, but it was possible in Russia. But in spite of strictest secrecy the news reached the government which at once prohibited the organization of the hospitals on the ground that it was illegal. However, the hospitals were there and they were equipped and the government did not dare to order them back. What they could do and did was to prohibit other units from joining the already existing ones. When the war was in its closing phase, von Plene, Minister of the Interior and an enemy of organized Zemstvo activity, was murdered. His successor was of a different mind and the Zemstvos steadily gained in recognition.[13]

At the outbreak of World War I the Zemstvos had gained strength and experience. Driven by patriotic feelings they sent their representatives to a conference in Moscow and organized the All-Russian Union of Zemstvos for the Relief of Sick and Wounded Soldiers.[14] Polner says: "On August 25, 1914, an imperial decree was issued giving official sanction to the Union of Zemstvos. It was recognized as an independent organization striving for objects similar to those of the Red Cross, and therefore entitled to use the emblem of the International Red Cross Society."[15] The Zemstvos were directly responsible to the Department of the Interior.

At the beginning of August, 1914, the Ministry of War turned to the Zemstvo Union for assistance. It was agreed upon that the army would establish clearing hospitals in some of the major cities. The evacuated soldier would come to this clearing hospital where he could be classified and given the most indispensable medical aid. From these clearing hospitals the wounded soldier would be transferred to the so-called "circuit" hospitals. The Zemstvo Union and the Union of Towns were to assist in maintaining the "circuit" hospitals.

The actual figures released January 1, 1916 showed that there were 173,000 Zemstvo beds in existence, the Ministry of War furnished about 160,000 beds, the city of Moscow 75,000 beds, the Union of Towns about 70,000, and the Red Cross about 48,000.[16] A system of Zemstvo train services for the transportation of the wounded continued throughout the war.

The All-Russian Union of Zemstvos was not part of the army. It worked together with the army officials in the matter of relief to the wounded. Polner writes: "With the Army, the Zemstvo Union had succeeded in establishing relations based on absolute mutual confidence. Whenever some unforseen need arose, the military authorities appealed to the representatives of the Zemstvo Union and in no instance did they fail to comply with the request."[17]

It has already been said that most of the Mennonites were attached to this organization. Polner who discusses the Zemstvos from a purely historical point of view and who at one time was a member of the executive board of the Zemstvo Union has this to say concerning the Mennonite participation:

"The recruiting of the lower staff also presented considerable difficulties, for the work demanded intelligent, patient, well-disciplined, and strong men. The first ten trains alone required four hundred such persons. The problem was admirably solved by a fortunate accident. The department found that a considerable number of Mennonites had been placed at the disposal of the military authorities for hospital service. The Mennonites were German sectarians living in Russia who had a conscientious objection to war and had steadfastly refused to bear arms ever since their immigration into Russia under Catherine II. The government had guaranteed them freedom from conscription and in return for this exemption they undertook to serve in the hospitals in case of war. The Zemstvo Union thereupon petitioned the Government to place the Mennonites at its disposal and the Government readily consented that it should hire several hundred Mennonites and see how they would answer the purpose. Having met with a friendly and generous reception, these Mennonites were soon writing cheerful letters home, with the result that many hundreds of Mennonites, in addition to those who were compelled to serve under the obligations they had assumed, enlisted of their own free will in the hospital service of the Union. They were excellent workers and performed their duties conscientiously and gallantly."[18]

Of historical interest to us is the relationship of the Zemstvo to the army. It seems that though the Mennonites enlisted through the Zemstvo Union they were still responsible, in a measure, to army officials. The trains and wounded could not be entirely in civilian hands. Oldenburg, who was in charge of the medical authorities of the army, contended that a wounded soldier is not an ordinary patient, but a soldier, and therefore could not be turned over completely to civilian personnel. He suggested that army officers be appointed as train commanders, to keep crews and staffs under proper discipline. Prince Lvov, who was president of the Zemstvo Union, objected on the ground that hospital trains were working on the conditions laid down in the agreement signed by the Chief of the general staff. This agreement required the Zemstvo Union to equip, maintain, and administer its hospital trains till the end of the war. The army's suggestion would mean the appointment of two authorities over one train—the military commander and the Zemstvo leader—who would be independent of each other, but would also derive their authority from different sources.[19] Military commanders were gradually appointed and conflicts broke out. Petitions poured in from the Zemstvo staffs, asking for permission to resign, and there was real danger that the entire organization would collapse. In November, 1916 a request was made that the Ministry of War take over all Zemstvo trains.[20] Until the outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution the train

e not transferred to the war ministry but continued
perate under the direction of the Zemstvo Union.

During the Revolution the Zemstvos were reorganized
finally liquidated in November, 1919. The end of the
nstvo institutions was brought about by coercion. The
us of the conscientious objector changed in that he
eared before a court as an individual rather than as
nember of an historic peace group.

In October, 1918 an order was issued by Trotsky,
ch gave exemption to draftees who by reason of re-
ous convictions could not accept military service.
er an official examining body had dealt with the ob-
or he was to serve in some alternative service project
nparable in danger to what the Red soldier faced.
ce the Trotsky order failed to define the investigative
y nor set up an alternative service plan, the United
ncil of Religious Denominations and Groups was or-
ized in Moscow. This body directed a memorandum
the Council of the People's Commissariat and pro-
ed that the United Council of Religious Denomina-
s function as the investigative body for conscientious
ectors. This was granted. The Mennonites were repre-
ted on this council. Many men of military age were
npletely exempted from service.[21]

Summary

In the light of this brief study several salient features
he development of the witness of Mennonites in Russia
war become apparent:

1. The Mennonites of Russia were not aggressive in
blishing an alternative service program. Any advance
he attempt to offer some alternative service was made
er pressure of the government.

2. The Mennonites of Russia were not willing to con-
r a medical service within the army. They were eager
establish and maintain a form of civilian service as an
rnative to military service.

3. The Zemstvo Union was a civilian organization
ough which these Mennonites served the wounded and
ng during World War I. Approximately one-half of
Mennonite men drafted were serving in this and sim-
organizations. The other half served in the Forestry
vice program of the Department of Crownlands.

4. The writer feels that the status of the Mennonites
Russia in doing medical work in World War I can-
be equated with the status of the non-combatant in
United States Army and therefore cannot be used as
ecisive precedent in defense of the I-A-O position.

Footnotes

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AGRICULTURE AMONG THE MENNONITES

(Continued from page 20)

tions. Improvement of breeds of horses and cattle as well as seeds were taken up again and even promoted by the government. The Mennonites were permitted to organize an All-Mennonite Agricultural Association with numerous subdivisions and to publish a magazine, *Der praktische Landwirt*. But the storm was soon to break.

From 1928-1933 collectivization was rigidly introduced with the subsequent liquidation of *kulaks*. Most of the farmers that had been able to retain some signs of prosperity even in these days were sent to Siberia or the north for slave labor, while those remaining were forced into collectives as a final step of the nationalization of all property and the subjugation of the individual to the state. The All-Mennonite Agricultural Association was discontinued in the summer of 1928. Severe new attacks on the traditional way of life followed from 1936-38, during the great purge of the Communist party, which reached down into every collective of the remotest settlement. Among the millions of collective farmers sent into exile were many thousands of Mennonites. At the outbreak of World War II, it was a policy of the Soviet government to remove all citizens of German background to Siberia and most of the Mennonite farmers had to give up their homes and villages. Only some 35,000 Mennonites were still in their homes when the German army occupied the Ukraine in 1941.

During the years of 1941-43 the Mennonites were permitted, although under great handicaps, to revive some of their agricultural practices of the past. With the withdrawal of the German army from the Ukraine and the removal of the civilian population into the interior of Germany the history of the Mennonite settlements in Russia and their contributions to agriculture had come to a tragic end. Those Mennonites who remained in Russia and those who were forcibly repatriated by the Russians are scattered mostly in Asiatic Russia in camps, in mines, and in collectives, and no definite information about them is available.

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Moments with the Children

BY WALTER GERING

Bidding at an Auction

Dear boys and girls:

I wonder how many of you have ever attended an auction sale. Those of you who have know how interesting they can be. There are always those long rows of strange articles standing out in the yard. Some of them are old and broken, hardly worth setting out with the rest of the articles. Others are just the thing you would enjoy having. There are hundreds of articles all neatly set up, waiting for the sale to begin. It is always so interesting to walk up and down those lines to see what has been offered for sale.

Then there are the people who gather for an auction sale. All the neighbors and friends are there. Some of them never intend to buy anything. They come just to join with the rest as they stand around and visit. Others come to look for bargains; they hope to buy some of the articles as cheaply as possibly.

There is the auctioneer; what fun he is. With a loud voice he calls the sale. As the articles are brought to him, one by one, he often has such interesting things to tell. Sometimes he tells about the article, explaining how good it is or what people ought to pay for it. At other times he jokes about some little thing which happened at another sale. Auctioneers can be such fun as they try to get people to buy at the sale.

But I think the most interesting thing about the sale is the way in which people bid on the articles. They are always trying to buy everything as cheeply as they can. On the other hand, the auctioneer is trying to get as high a bid as possible. So the battle is on between auctioneer and people. It is interesting to watch people as they bid.

Let me tell you about an auction sale which took place some time ago. A large crowd of people had gathered and everyone was waiting for the auctioneer to begin. Suddenly he climbed up where everyone could see him and pulled a small article from his pocket. He held it up high so that all could see. The people in the crowd took a look at the article and then looked at each other. A few of them had a grin upon their face.

"How much am I bid?" cried the auctioneer as he held up the article. There was silence; not a single bid answered his cry. "How much am I bid?" he cried the second time. Again there was silence. But this time there were many who were grinning; they knew that this was going to be a good joke. No one wanted to be the laughing stock of the whole crowd. But they were sure that someone would finally make a bid and the joke would be on him. "How much am I bid?" came the cry of the auctioneer for the third time. And from the edge of the crowd came the high pitched voice of a little boy as he made a bid.

The crowd roared with laughter. Then there was a sudden silence as the auctioneer cried out, "Sold. Give it to the boy." And for a few cents a little boy had purchased a genuine dollar bill. Now the laugh was on the people; they had thought that the auctioneer was only joking. Surely he did not intend to sell a genuine dollar bill to the highest bidder. Only this little boy had dared to make a bid. And with joy he made his way home with the dollar bill in his pocket.

I thought of another day when a large crowd was gathered from many different places. It was the same kind of crowd; friends, relatives and neighbors had gathered to see the excitement. For a long time they had been hearing about a man who made such strange offers. Now they had the chance to hear him in their own community. As he rose to his feet and saw the great crowd he cried out: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light."

There was silence in the crowd; they too did not believe that he meant what he said. They thought it was only another speaker making promises which he could not fulfill. And so they did not accept his offer and went their way without answering his call. It could not be true.

Yet there were the few who had the courage to take him at his word. They came to Jesus and began to follow him. They left everything to follow him; they were the ones who found out that he meant just what he said. Often Jesus made such great promises that it seemed impossible for him to keep them. But they soon discovered that Jesus meant every word he spoke. Every offer was genuine.

I hope that you boys and girls will always trust Jesus fully. He still calls us to come to him. He promises to do wonderful things for us if we will only give him our hearts. Give him your heart and trust him fully.

Happy New Year -- Froehliches Neujahr

BY PETER HILTY

Ninety years ago Swiss Mennonite families moved
m Ohio to central Missouri, establishing the Bethel
ennonite Church, near Fortuna, Missouri. Through all
ese years there has been music, particularly at New
ar's Eve when serenaders welcomed the coming year.
re we see a group of young people sing the melodies
ir grandfathers sang many years ago.

'Tis time now to welcome
The happy new year,
God grant you to live
And enjoy the new year.

Good fortune and blessings
To dwell in your home,
God grant you such blessings
This year in your home.

In heaven before
The great heavenly throne
God grant you reward
In that heavenly home.

Die Zeit ist ankommen,
Das freudige Jahr,
Gott wolle euch geben
Das ganze Neujahr.

Viel Glück und viel Segen
In euerem Haus,
Gott wolle euch geben
Den Segen in's Haus.

Im Himmel, im Himmel,
Am himmlischen Thron,
Gott wolle euch geben
Im Himmel den Lohn.

They are invied into the kitchen for candy, apples, and popcorn. A little girl listens to the singers, her eyes filled with wonder and attention. But more homes await and New Year comes. *Alleluiah, alleuiah, we are on our journey home.*

English translation by M. D. Gerber

THE STORY OF THE JANSEN CHURCHES

By D. PAUL MILLER

A TOTAL OF eleven churches have been organized in the community of Jansen since the first settlers arrived in 1874. The last of the Mennonite churches to organize was begun in 1901 and at this time there were six Mennonite churches in the community of Jansen. The German Methodist was also in existence at this time. Each of the Mennonite churches was of a different branch. Today there is one Mennonite and one Lutheran church. The others have all disappeared.

The Mennonite churches that have existed in Jansen are: (1) *Kleine Gemeinde;* (2) Evangelical Mennonite Brethren (EMB); (3) Krimmer Mennonite Brethren (KMB); (4) General Conference (often referred to as Peter Jansen's church); (5) Mennonite Brethren (MB); (6) Reformed Mennonite. The non-Mennonite churches are: (1) German Methodist; (2) German Baptist; (3) Nazarene; (4) Community Church; (5) Trinity Lutheran.

Kleine Gemeinde

The first group to organize in the community was that of the *Kleine Gemeinde.* This name was given to this church because originally a small group withdrew from the main body of the Mennonite church in the Molotschna Colony in South Russia and remained small in size during its stay in Russia. It consequently became commonly referred to as the Kleine Gemeinde or "small church." Claas Reimer was responsible for the beginning of the Kleine Gemeinde in Russia. He was a very sensitive and conservative man and found what was, in his opinion, serious fault with the church for not using disciplinary measures against erring members. On the other hand, there was an excessive strictness on the part of civil officials in the Mennonite villages in administering local police power over recalcitrant fellow Mennonites. This controversy led to the withdrawal of the small group in 1820, and in the 1870's the Kleine Gemeinde migrated to the United States and Canada.

The first group of Mennonite settlers in Jefferson County was comprised of thirty-six families, all of the Kleine Gemeinde faith. Cornelius and Peter Jansen (Mrs. Cornelius Jansen was related to some members of the Kleine Gemeinde) contacted the group in New York and informed them of the possibilities of the choice land in Nebraska. Leaders of the group were issued passes by the railroad company to tour the states of Minnesota, the Dakotas, Nebraska, and Kansas. The prospective settlers selected Nebraska as the best location because here they could get a large solid block of good fertile soil at low cost and it was considered to be a happy medium so far as climatic conditions were concerned.

Services of the Kleine Gemeinde congregation were organized immediately after their arrival in 1874. They first met in homes but in a short time began construction on their church building near the center of their settlement located two miles west and three north of the present site of Jansen.

This church operated and increased in number in Jefferson County until the year 1906. By this time certain pressures were bearing upon the group and migrations to Meade, Kansas were begun. For some time they had been feeling a need for more land in order to accommodate their young people with farms. The families were large and available land scarce and becoming more costly. Because of the increasingly crowded conditions in the rural areas around Jansen, isolation was becoming more and more difficult and even impossible, while the Meade, Kansas area which had been inspected in view of a new location, was still relatively unsettled and an abundance of land was available at a low cost. The infiltration of new religious views causing the disintegration of the traditional way of life was also an important factor causing dissatisfaction among the more conservative element. Consequently they sold their land in Nebraska, bought new land at Meade and migrated again. Within a period of three years—1906, 1907, and 1908—the entire Kleine Gemeinde group migrated as a body from the Jansen community to Meade, Kansas with the exception of those that had joined other Mennonite groups.

Evangelical Mennonite Brethren

The Evangelical Mennonite Brethren Church (EMB) of Jefferson County, Nebraska, began in 1879 as a result of some families breaking away from the Kleine Gemeinde. It is the only Mennonite church that still remains in the Jansen community today. Elder Isaac Peters of Henderson in York County was the organizer and the first elder of the church and because of his leadership it was first called *Peter's Kirche* (Peter's church). In the first years, the services were held either in homes or in the school house one and one-fourth miles east of town. In 1890, a small church, twenty by thirty feet, was erected. Shortly thereafter, a one-class Sunday school was organized, and regular Sunday school and church services were held in the new building. The original building was enlarged in 1902.

On June 19, 1928, a storm hit the Jansen community which damaged the church building to the extent that the congregation decided to construct a new one. As a result a new building thirty by fifty feet, was erected one-half mile east of the original site, just across the road north of

village of Jansen. This new building was completed dedicated on January 5, 1930, and is still in use ay.

Even though this church was at first commonly re-ed to as *Peter's Kirche* it was officially called the nezer Church. This church along with several other ll independent congregations of other Mennonite set-nents of like mind organized into a conference which y called Defenseless Mennonites of North America. er, in 1937, this conference name was changed to ngelical Mennonite Brethren and in 1953 it merged n the Evangelical Mennonite Church to become the nference of Evangelical Mennonites.

Krimmer Mennonite Brethren

The Krimmer Mennonite Brethren (KMB) Church in ferson County, Nebraska began in 1880. A group of MB families came from Russia to Jefferson County July, 1877 which helped to organize the Peter's church. om the very beginning this church lacked unity. Even ugh it operated as one church it was divided into two tions, each functioning under a separate leader. The faction continued and eventually evolved into the sent EMB Church described above, while the other tion sought leadership and advice from the KMB con-gation in Kansas, and within a short time, in March, 0, J. A. Wiebe with others from the Kansas congrega-n held meetings with the divided faction. The main is-for this division from Peter's church appears to ve been over the method of baptism. Peter's church d the method of pouring while the parted group felt t it was necessary not only to immerse but to im-rse forward by kneeling.

Meetings of the KMB group were held in homes of members. By September, 1880, there were thirty-three mbers in this church. The membership continued to rese but from available evidence seems to never have eeded seventy-five members. In 1905 and 1906 a new ck church was built one mile east of town. Shortly er the new church was erected migrations from the nmunity began. These continued in a rather irregular hion, sometimes one or two families and sometimes arger group of families leaving until 1915, only three

Former Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Church, Jansen.

Evangelical Mennonite Church, Jansen, Nebraska.

families of the KMB congregation remained in the Jansen community. The larger share of those migrating went to California, some to Garden City, Kansas and others to Hillsboro, Kansas. Those families that remained continued to worship with the MB Church. The Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Church lost its identity in the Jansen community around the year 1915.

Mennonite Brethren

The Mennonite Brethren (MB) Church was the last of the Mennonite churches to organize in the Jansen community and was likewise the last to have disappeared. It was commonly called the Schellenberg Church after its American organizer Abraham Schellenberg. It was also frequently referred to as the "town church" since it was the only Mennonite church to have ever been located within the village boundary limits, and was for a time, the only church in Jansen. The church was organized in 1890 under the leadership of J. J. Regier, Henderson, Nebraska. Isaak Wall became the first minister.

In the early days of its organization the services were held in the homes of its members. For a while they worshipped in a former saloon. The church building was apparently erected in the spring of 1906. The Jansen news column in the *Fairbury Gazette* states at this time that "The dedication of the MB Church which took place Sunday was well attended." The church building was located two blocks east of main street just inside the north boundary line of the original town. It was slow to start and had a small membership. At times this congregation consisted of only two or three families and its continued existence was frequently threatened. It was strengthened when the remaining members of the KMB Church joined with them around the year 1915. Sometime after the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren discontinued services in the brick church east of town the Mennonite Brethren made arrangements with the KMB Conference to use this building and conducted their services here until they closed down entirely in 1947. The town church building was sold to the Lutheran church in 1929.

Other Groups

Peter Jansen's church never operated as an indepen-

dent organization. When Jansen moved to his ranch home in 1882, he developed his little ranch village with six tenant houses and a school house. Since these tenant families lived a great distance from any church, Peter Jansen arranged for ministers to come into the community from other churches to conduct the services. These were held once a month and were usually served by ministers from the First Mennonite Church of Beatrice, the church where Peter Jansen had his membership.

The minister would drive from Beatrice to Jansen early Sunday morning and it was common understanding that he and all those who accompanied him would go to Peter Jansen's home for Sunday dinner. These services were attended quite regularly by six to eight large families. They continued until Peter Jansen sold the ranch and moved to Beatrice in 1909.

The Reformed Mennonite group in Jansen consisted largely of a few families who had separated from the Kleine Gemeinde. It did not consist of more than three or four families. They were influenced by a leader from the Reformed Mennonites who had come into the vicinity from Pennsylvania to visit. This occurred presumably in the 1890's and information as to the beginning is somewhat vague. The founder of the original Reformed Mennonite Church was Jacob Herr. It is for this reason that his followers were, and still are by older residents, referred to as *Herre-Leit*. They were also called "white caps," because of the distinctive white head covering worn by the women.

There are several individuals in the proximity of Jansen today who hold to this faith. They are sincerely "religious" yet they refuse to attend church because there is no church of their type accessible and they believe it is sinful to attend other churches. Their religious fellowship is confined almost entirely to correspondence with ministers and friends in the East, reading literature published by their church, and, perhaps an occasional visit by one of like faith. If a minister from the East (Pennsylvania or Illinois) goes through or nearby in his travels, he will make special effort, perhaps traveling several hundred miles extra, to see one of his members. John Holdeman also visited Jansen and had some followers here.

The six Mennonite churches mentioned above comprised the largest share of the church activity in the Jansen community until the Mennonite exodus which occurred in the decade 1906 to 1916. After the year 1916, two Mennonite churches, the MB and EMB, remained. The MB church was assisted by remnant families from the KMB group, but even so its existence was constantly threatened, and in 1947 it was forced to close. Thus, one Mennonite church, the Evangelical Mennonite church, has survived and continues to operate at the present time.

Non-Mennonite Churches

The situation with non-Mennonite churches in the Jansen community reveals a very interesting pattern.

Main Street, Jansen, Nebraska, approximately 1913.

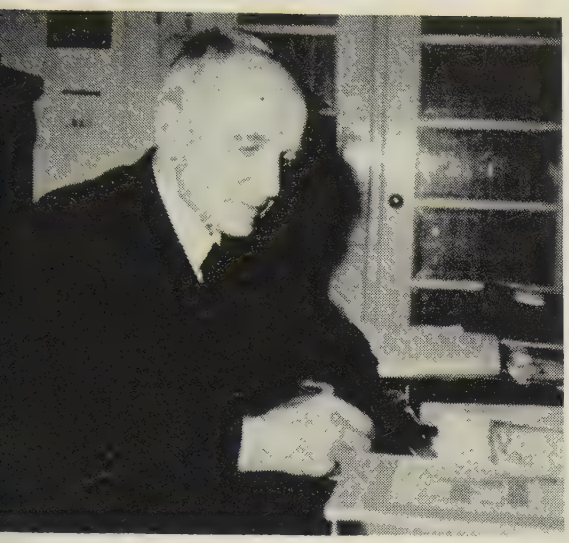
The German Methodist church began in 1888 and discontinued in 1920. The "Articles of Incorporation for the German Baptist Church of Jansen" are recorded in the *County Record Book of Incorporation* at the county clerk's office, Fairbury, Nebraska. These articles indicate that it was incorporated May 25, 1892. The Methodist church had been organized for several years when the Baptist church began and apparently the Baptists were not able to compete successfully with the Methodists and since there were not sufficient non-Mennonite people in the vicinity to support two churches, one was forced to discontinue. None of the Jansen residents today have any recollection of the Baptist church.

The Nazarene church began in 1919 and discontinued in 1925; the Community church began in 1925 and discontinued in 1933; the Trinity Lutheran church began in 1929 and has been growing steadily to the present time.

Conclusion

There are a number of interesting observations to be made in regard to the churches of Jansen. Some of these are: (1) The several Mennonite churches apparently filled a vital need in the community until migrations from the community forced them to close one by one. (2) There is apparently need for one, but only one, non-Mennonite church in Jansen. The others have disappeared.

The Lutheran church is experiencing steady growth, while the Mennonite church is declining. There are reasons for these conditions of growth or decline in these churches of Jansen today. These reasons are no doubt complex in nature. If we were to attempt a summary statement of explanation, this writer would say the following. When disrupting elements made their inroads into the Kleine Gemeinde it withdrew to another place leaving only a small number of families—not enough to guarantee a normal growth and church life for all the Mennonite groups that had been started by representatives from the EMB, KMB, MB and Reformed Mennonites. Had the leaders of the Kleine Gemeinde been willing to adapt themselves to a changing environment and had the evangelizing groups had a little more of a spirit of tolerance and vision Jansen would today be a spiritually and economically prosperous Mennonite community.



WILHELM WISWEDEL--

His Services to Anabaptist Appreciation

BY ROBERT FRIEDMANN

The appearance of the third and last volume of helm Wiswedel's *Bilder und Führergestalten aus dem fertum* (J. G. Onken Verlag, Kassel, 1952) provides elcome opportunity not only to review this book but to acquaint the general Mennonite reader with this aordinary man and his work, all too little known on side of the ocean.

Wilhelm Wiswedel is a German Baptist minister, who oted the greater part of his life to the study and motion of Anabaptist history and thought in the wid- sense. What he has done during these years remains a iument of dedicated work; there are few writings iparable to these studies, so warm and lovingly writ- yet through and through scholarly at the same time, enlighteners about the great century of the Anabap- fathers and the essence of their vision. Out of his own h he has recreated for us the picture of these early wit- es to the gospel, the Anabaptist martyrs.

One cannot help being moved by reading the three vol- es *Bilder und Führergestalten* with their wealth of oping testimonies, confessions, and other expressions a faith beyond theological sophistication or rational alism. We would call it an existential faith. Most er scholars in Anabaptist history have described the and faith of these sixteenth century brethren with ipathy and yet detached as is befitting to a modern orian. Wiswedel, though very meticulous in his state- its, nevertheless writes with his very heart. He repro- es original documents, hardly known to any one, in g and well selected excerpts, and lo, strength comes h from them and a joy that faith could prove itself victoriously in face of dungeon, henchmen, and fire. ery Mennonite who is genuinely interested in Chris- i living should read these books to familiarize himself h the matrix, the soil in which his own ancestry roots.

Wilhelm Wiswedel's life story is brief and simple. was born April 17, 1877 in the province of Bruns- k, Germany, as a peasant's son. In his twenties (1901- he became a *Bibelbote,* a licensed evangelist. Afterwards he attended the Theological Seminary of the Baptists in Hamburg for four years. After graduation he became pastor of a church in Chemnitz, Saxony (1907-1923). It was here that his attention was drawn for the first time to the story of the Anabaptists, mainly of the earlier period. Much prejudice was then rampant in theological circles and the truth was but little known. In 1912, Wiswedel visited the United States traveling mainly among Baptist congregations in the East (up to Cleveland). Other trips brought him to Stockholm, Switzerland, Austria, and Yugoslavia. From 1923-32 he was preacher in Schmalkalden, Thuringia, and since 1932, he served in the same capacity in Bayreuth, Bavaria.

Wiswedel's work in his line is quite considerable. He is one of the very few scholars (hardly more than six, all told) who worked through the hundred odd files of the so-called Beck Collection in Brno, Czechoslovakia (Moravia), a unique depository of 16-17 century Auabaptistica, predominantly of Hutterite derivation. Besides these he studied the scattered but rich literature on the Anabaptists of many German cities and regions. The result is a wealth of monographs in learned magazines, contributions in the *Sendbote,* the periodical of the German Baptists in the United States (Cleveland), the three volumes of the *Bilder und Führergestalten,* a small book on Balthasar Hubmaier, and a semi-autobiographical book, *Ich traue Seinen Wunderwegen,* containing meditations occasioned by personal experiences.

A Cloud of Witnesses

However we turn now to a quick survey of the contents of the three volumes of the *Bilder.* The first section of volume I is devoted partly to the background of the Anabaptist movement (Bohemian Brethren, Müntzer, Karlstadt, Peasant's War), and partly to the polemical fight of Luther and Melanchthon against the Brethren. The inability of these Reformers to recognize the genuineness of the faith of the Brethren and the amount of intolerance by the official churchmen are truly appalling. "Liberty of conscience," said Butzer in Strassburg, "is an invention of the devil." And he was by far not the worst. The claim that all heretics are blasphemers, therefore failing under the verdict of Leviticus 24:16, is of course a repulsive and foolish argument but it gave the state church its feeling of great righteousness and certainly in its persecution.

The remaining two-thirds of the volume is devoted to the story of individual Anabaptists, mainly from Thuringia, Hesse, and Franconia; Hans Hut, Hans Denck, and

Peter Riedemann in particular find a sympathetic treatment. In fact, the excerpts from Riedemann's great *Rechenschaft* of 1540, the "Account of Our Religion," are particularly appealing. Now that this latter book is available also in a fine English translation (see MENNONITE LIFE April, 1952) it should find readers on a wider scale. This book illustrates like very few others the thoughts and visions of the brethren concerning church, faith, original sin, redemption, baptism, and so forth. The theological tension with leading Protestantism becomes apparent at once. The doctrine of justification through Christ's death and atonement is unreservedly accepted, but—and this is significant—it is ineffective without genuine renewal of the heart and the concommitant witnessing to such a faith in life and a total dedication even unto death. "Justification must be followed by sanctification, confession by discipleship. If the latter is absent then faith was but fancied *(erdichteter Glaube)* and not a living faith of the heart" (p. 185). But of course such teaching does not mean work-righteousness as the state-church polemics claimed. "We say loudly 'no' to such a contention" Riedmann writes; for what he meant was a thorough testifying and evidencing of faith in life.

The second volume of *Bilder* covers the story of martyrs and confessors in the region of Bavaria and Austria (mainly Hutterites). The most stimulating testimonies in this volume are by the two early Anabaptist martyrs, Leonhard Schiemer and Hans Schlaffer, both former Catholic priests and both put to death for the sake of their faith in Tyrol in 1528. A few excerpts will give an idea of the actuality of these documents. There was a rumor that Schiemer gave to the people some drink out of a secret bottle or *Fläschl,* to bring them into his charm. "Well," he answered, "that is true. I admit that they may call it a bottle. Whosoever drinks from it becomes changed. But the drink in this bottle is nothing else than a pounded, powdered, brayed and grieved heart, crushed with the mortar of the cross. St. Peter tells us of that bottle: "Christ has suffered in the flesh for us, so ye be armed with the same spirit, for he who suffers in the flesh stops sinning. And Isaiah speaks of that bottle: 'Ye are drunk but not with wine.' There are many sayings concerning this bottle or cup. For this moment I call it bottle: like as a bottle is narrow and thin on the top, so the new life is in its beginning full of fear and agony. But as soon as one has passed this agony, the bottle becomes large in its middle part, that means God now greatly comforts the man . . . It is not enough to hear God's Word bodily, one must also have the true light of the Holy Ghost in himself. For Christ must be born in us, and he who does not lead a new life in Christ, should better not say that he was born again and renewed in spirit. It is true that Christ's suffering discharges our sins, but Christ must suffer in me, as water cannot quench my thirst unless I drink it, and bread cannot still my hunger unless I eat it. So Christ's suffering does not hinder me from sinning as long as He does not suffer within me. Whoever does not have Christ in himself cannot believe Him truly." In a similar way Hans Schlaffer points out: "Even if Christ had died a hundred times, it would be of no help to men as long as one does not know the spiritual Christ within. Whoever comes into Hell with Christ and in Christ, the same will be led out again with Christ. Whoever thinks that faith in Christ is enough, does not honor and confess Him. They like to have the sweetest from Christ, but they refuse to accept His suffering."

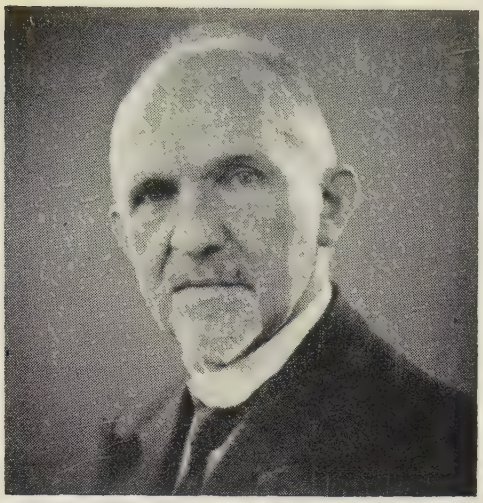
Heroes of Faith

Twenty years and a tragic World War had to pass before the third volume could come out, and even then not without material aid by some American Mennonites. This volume concludes this gallery of pictures of heroic witnesses to the faith, victorious and joyful even in the face of death. "If the Lord deems me worthy to testify to His name with my blood, how gladly would I thank Him, for I hope not only to bear these bonds with patience *(Gelassenheit)* but also to die for the sake of Christ, that I may conclude the course of my life with joy. Thus Thomas of Imbroich (near Cologne), testified as a martyr in 1568. "Therefore thank God," he writes to his wife as a farewell, "that he tested both of us so much. Let us accept the yoke in good spirit and consider it a great joy. But do ask the Lord for me that he keeps me with His truth" (p. 110). The first section of this volume tells us the story of fourteen men, mainly of Swabian background (Württemberg, Baden, etc.). Here we read about Michael Sattler's extraordinary stand during trial and execution (1527), perhaps the most famous case of all a bitter death, indeed, but not in vain in its spiritual consequences. The pamphlet with all the records and epistles by Sattler soon became read all over German lands. We hear about Paul Glock's faithfulness during nineteen years of imprisonment, feeling himself sometimes tested and tempted like Job, but remaining loyal throughout that long period. And we enjoy Leonhard Dax' subtle defense before a Protestant superintendent of the church, 1567. "It is God who works good deeds in man, but our comfort we get alone from the righteousness of Christ" (54). There is Melchior Hofmann, the strange millenialist and promoter of Anabaptism in the Netherlands, who in all his distress in prison does not tire in warning his flock: "No one ought to seek rest upon the meritorious death of Christ. There can be no justification without good deeds." (67). Pilgram Marbeck, likewise speaks to us in the same vein when he compares the "crown of thorns" of the suffering Christ with the "halo of glory" of the saviour in heaven, the latter praised by Schwenckfeld, the former by the Anabaptists. Haetzer, Hans Arbeiter, Michael Cervaes, and Thomas of Imbroich then conclude this array of noble witnesses to the truth; in many cases by quoting their own words in well chosen selections. It is a moving, strengthening and convincing picture.

(Continued on page 44)

B. HYLKEMA (1870-1948): Between Two Worlds

BY G. W. HYLKEMA



HOW secure man seems during a time of well-being. Confidently he trusts in his own strength and achievements. However, mature experience re-ls how delicate and fragile life is. The past decade has nded a call for reflection to all who were willing to r it. Fortunate are those who have grasped the mean- of what has actually taken place, that is, those who e seen life's total relationship in more than one di-nsion, who realize that man is thrown into uncertain- in order that he may find a higher loyalty. But how ny continue to live in insecurity and fear of empti-s, and at the same time camouflage this emtiness ch makes it even worse. However, there are always se who are destined, in the multiplicity of happenings, point out the meaning back of events.

One of these pioneers was born October 14, 1870, to old Dutch Mennonite farmer's family as the young- of eight children—Cornelis Bonnes Hylkema. His thplace was near the German border, a country then war. This Franco-German War (1870-1871) was a ck in the lives of millions and was more than a strug- for the hegemony in the old world. Not only did this flict erupt at the border of two countries but also at border of two worlds: the quiet nineteenth and the tless twentieth centuries. But for the time being the her of Cornelius Bonnes Hylkema had other worries. e farmers could hardly keep their heads above water, those days, and satisfy the mouths of the youngsters. e Hylkema farm was located on a mound surrounded water. According to a Frisian chronicle it was located a site occupied during the Middle Ages by a monas-y.

One afternoon late in 1875 the dog, chained to his nnel, became very restless although there was no strang-in sight. As soon as he was turned loose he dashed to water just in time to rescue the little "Kees" whose

Hylkema farm on mound surrounded by water.

role in life had not yet been fulfilled. But he was not to follow in his father's footsteps and become a farmer. One of his older brothers migrated to America at the age of sixteen.

Trudging across the open field in clogs to the village school and back again was not easy. Furthermore, the children who lived here where Menno Simons had lived four hundred years ago spoke only Frisian at home and had to learn Dutch in school. Thus the farm, located as it was on a mound, became a place of security which it had been for centuries when the waters came high. But the young "Kees" was impressed by the fact that this had not always been a place of peace. He witnessed the excavation on the mound of hundreds of skulls of men who had lost their lives in the struggle between the landed nobility and the rising middle class in the fourteenth century. Watching the excavation of a mass grave he must have asked himself the question: "What motivated them?" He must also have concluded that his generation stood in living continuity with that buried here. And thus the question really was: "What is motivating us?"

Did his minister see in him a scholar? In any event he asked the *Algemeene Societeit* for a scholarship which entitled him to study in the Mennonite Seminary in Amsterdam. In 1896 he became minister of the Mennonite church at den Helder where he soon developed intimate contact with his members. At the same time he felt an urge to do historical research. In his book *Reformateurs* which he presented as his doctor's dissertation in 1900 he portrays the renewal of Christianity around 1640 through the various influences, among them that of the Quakers and the philosopher Spinoza. This book, as well as his study on *Oud en Nieuw Calvinisme,* found many readers because of the originality and approach. "Much of that which was considered to be the latest expression of ethical Christian life was proven to have been as strongly represented two hundred years ago as at that time." In the days of Rembrandt, the Golden Age, there was a time of great stress because of wars (English-Dutch), but it was also a time of great men who

raised a prophetical voice against the mighty in state and church. The tolerant Mennonite spirit was greatly disturbed through these reformers.

The Flemish, the Waterlander, the Frisian and the High German Mennonites were thrown into this whirlpool so that representatives of the Reformed state church mockingly referred to the reactions of the Mennonites to this as the *Lammerenkrijgh*. The significance of this "war of the lambs" as a continued process of the Reformation could be appraised only by a later generation, as is the case with every great upheavel in history. Before C. B. Hylkema's *Reformateurs* appeared, this movement of the spirit had never been fully recognized by church historians.

The essence of every spiritual struggle is the crisis through which mankind goes again and again realizing in its disunity that Christ is the center. My father realized than man must become conscious of the fact that he lives on the border of two worlds: the world of established and temporary powers and the world of the spirit. He found himself on the disturbed sea, always in need of the beacon light. The consciousness of the two worlds between which our life comes to fuller realization and where we experience a spiritual restlessness and tension remained with him all his life. On the other hand, he was a practical man who could personally handle the tools of a carpenter and also inspire a congregation to build.

In 1925 he was the driving force when the first Dutch Mennonite *Broederschapshuis* was established. Authorized by a committee he bought the building site, drilled the well, planted trees, and arranged for everything. He succeeded in making it possible for the poorer class of Mennonite people from the city to spend some time vacationing with nature for a small sum of money, probably for the first time in their lives. He realized that the common man, accustomed to stone and asphalt, needs the quietness and solitude of nature in order to find himself, and again lose himself that he may find God. When the work was completed his contribution was recognized by naming the driveway Hylkemalaan. But this was not the satisfaction he was looking for. During the first night he had the sign removed, realizing that man at his best is a kernel which disappears in the ground so that it can bring forth fruit. Soon he withdrew from executive functions of the organization. He was more a man of initiative than of conformity.

In his later years he actively devoted some time to the political developments where his optimism prevented him from fully realizing the extent of outburst of human force to which they would lead. He was tired and withdrawn when the world struggle was over. If he had lived until the clouds of dust had settled he would have formulated some conclusive concept. But life's eve had come. On January 9, 1948 he died of a heart attack. Incisive as was his way of life, so was his death. The impetuosity of his nature was harmoniously complemented by his wife, Goverta de Clercq.

His sense for border situations in the past and present pointed to the future. An example thereof was not only his book, *Het predikambt in de toekomst* ("The Ministry in the Future") but also his last theological work, *Werkelijkheidstheologie* ("Theology of Reality"). He knew, on one hand, that the spiritual world comes to us only within our reality, but, on the other hand, he knew that the true reality of our world does not consist of what we can comprehend with our senses, but in what the spirit of God can achieve through us from day to day.

WILHELM WISWEDEL

(Continued from page 42)

The last part is devoted to a cursory sketch of the great Anabaptist movement and its major representatives in many German regions, mainly Württemberg, Palatinate, Strassburg, the Rhineland and the northwest corner of Germany toward the Dutch border. Of particular value in this section is an elaborate anaylsis of a hitherto almost completely overlooked Hutterite tract, called *Handbüchlein wider den Prozess* etc. (1558), in which the distressingly false claims of Philip Melanchthon and some other theologians are thoroughly refuted. Particularly enlightening are the pages dealing with the idea of Original Sin, a concept most central with Lutheranism but only peripheral with the Brethren. "Scriptures know three kinds of original sin, we read in the *Handbüchlein* (177). "One is caused by Adam's disobedience and fall, and this one all men have inherited (Rom. 5). Thus it becomes the very reason of temporal death of all men. But . . . by the obedience of one man, Christ, men were made just again, and thus small children remain in God's grace unto life eternal. Secondly: original sin might mean also an inclination to sin *(sündliche Neigung)*, felt by all men. This inclination, however, can be fought and overcome through the power of the Lord. Finally, the third inheritance of original sin *(Erbsünde)* has lost all its power over those who have found true faith in Christ and given over themselves to Christ. 'Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin' (1 John 3:9)." A faith of that kind is of course not so much a faith of the letter but rather one of the "Inner Word," a spiritual faith (albeit Scriptural), the death of the "adamitic flesh and the sinful life" (John 3:3).

Space is too short to discuss all the implications hinted at by these testimonies, but if one wishes to penetrate deeper into the heart of Christian living, witnessing, and the eternal destiny of man; in short if one wants to ask oneself these eternal questions, then these three volumes, full with such discussions, offer themselves as appropriate readings. To me, Anabaptism is no dead history, and no purely intellectual affair either. It poses an existential question: what does it mean to believe in Christ and to accept the call of Christ? Wiswedel's "pictures" help greatly to make these issues alive and urgent, simply by expertly quoting these men and women of a stronger age who considered even martyrdom a yoke not too burdensome to bear for the sake of giving witness.

OUTSIDE INFLUENCES ON MENNONITE THOUGHT

BY HAROLD S. BENDER

ALTHOUGH I am no Old-Mennonite myself, yet for years I have been tired, tired, tired, of the outside influences and particularly foreign uences, and should like to call out urgently to all rmers (and I mean General Conference as well as nnonite Brethren) especially to the leaders, to stop a e and ask yourselves, What is Mennonitism? Have we r all forgotten something which it would be good to arn as a reaction against this endless new, new, new? we not perhaps losing a large or essential and good : of our Mennonite soul? What does God expect of is a group?—That we, who call ourselves Mennonites, uld become a conglomerate of Lutheran, Baptist, Plyuth Brethren, etc., etc., traits (I mean in our underading and expressions of our Christianity)? What is particular unique character which God has assigned us through our original heritage of faith, our history, our present situation? Assuredly we should now fiy begin a little more seriously to study our past, as l as to evaluate our new acquisitions for their permat value, throw away the false, properly integrate the d old and the good new" (P. M. Friesen, *Alt-Evang. nn. Bruederschaft in Russland,* Halbstadt, 1911, p.).

These are not the words of a modern American Menite, but of a leading Mennonite minister and scholar South Russia of forty years ago. But they serve well ntroduce the discussion of outside influences on Menite thought. What P. M. Friesen felt so keenly in ssia, many of us feel today in North America. There and have been outside influences bearing upon our nnonite brotherhood. A striking illustration of this is recent involvement of many Mennonites in the conversy over the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, ontroversy imported into our ranks from the outside. s good that we give attention to what these outside uences have done to our Mennonite thought and to at our attitude should be toward them.

In this brief consideration we shall have to limit the pe of inquiry geographically to North America, alugh the outside influences upon Mennonite thought in rope have actually been more extensive and more sigcant. That the modification or abandonment on that tinent of much of the early Anabaptist-Mennonite ition is due to such influences is a commonplace. inianism, Pietism, Modernism, Lutheranism, nationm, all have played a role and to some extent are still ng so among European Mennonites. The inroads of eralism in Holland and Northwest Germany in the 19th tury, is an illustration of one aspect of this influence; rise of the Mennonite Brethren schism in Russia in 0 is another, and the recent affiliation of the Emmental Swiss Mennonite congregation with the Reformed Church of Bern a third. Robert Friedmann's study in *Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries* (1949) has awakened many of us to what pietistic influences have done to our German and Swiss Mennonite churches, and in a measure to the American Mennonites who descend from them. But we shall have more than enough to occupy our time in treating the developments in North America and limit this inquiry accordingly.

A Spiritual History

The consideration of this subject is beset with many difficulties, so that the conclusions offered in this pioneer study must be considered as tentative only. The first difficulty is that of breadth of the field of inquiry. There are many Mennonite groups in modern America, with a variety of backgrounds and a diverse spiritual history. Their exposure to outside influences has varied, and their present state is not uniform. The paucity of documentary materials is another handicap. And how can one be certain as to the exact relationship of cause and effect as changes take place? Moreover what precisely was the original Anabaptist-Mennonite theology and ethic? Much has been done to clarify it, but the final formulation is still not complete. How may we know what of present Mennonite thought comes from the original deposit of faith, and what has been added from the outside? At times we seem to be almost in the position of the mathematician or chemist who has an end-product or formula, but not knowing any of the factors which produced it seeks to discover what they were by examining the product itself. May we assume as some have done that certain groups the most conservative of today such as Old Order Amish and Old Colony Mennonites, have remained unchanged and can be used as control groups by which to test the changes of the others? Or is it also possible that the state of some of these groups today represents deterioration and degeneration, and not at all the original from which they came? Again, how many of our present Mennonite behaviour patterns in thought and spirit are really distinctive and genetically Mennonite, and how many are general German culture traits or simply rural culture traits, or even just Americanisms? Some Mennonites who have introduced new thought have assumed and testified that they found their new ideas in the Scripture, when possibly they really received them from forgotten outside sources, perchance a book, a sermon, a passing conversation, a school class, which they may have overlooked or naively ignored. Who is able to be critical of his own creativity? Is it of God or of man? And of what men?

Such a study makes heavy demands upon the one who undertakes it. In effect it calls for a spiritual history of

the entire brotherhood against the background of which the changes can be plotted and their sources and consequences laid bare. But it is just in this area that our Mennonite scholarship has been most remiss, both in quantity and in depth and objectivity. Our historians have given us many accounts of migration and settlements, much institutional and organizational history, narratives of persecution and martyrdom, description of activities, but where is the history of Mennonite theology and piety, of the inner life of our brotherhood?

But this study requires almost as wide a knowledge of the history of Protestant thought and piety as of our own. What are the outside forces and movements of thought which may have influenced us and still bear upon us? Mennonites, as they come out of their isolation, increasingly borrow vocabulary, ideas, and meanings from the Protestant world which surrounds us. If we are not to be wholly naive in the assumption that we have created all this by ourselves, we shall have to carefully determine the amount of assimilation to general Protestantism which has already taken place.

And then, there is the requirement of more than passing familiarity with the sociological process and particularly with what is today called the sociology of religion. More than a suspicion is warranted that much of what passes for scriptural or religious change has actually been sociological, or at least sociologically caused, with reflex action on theology. Traditions are buttressed with religious explanations and sanctions created *ex post facto* and *ad hoc*. With a strong Biblicism in our tradition, some of us have sought in the Bible grounds for the validity of social and economic practices, regulations on costume, beards, boots, and bonnets, and much more. The battle to maintain our small groups and their distinctive way of life in a hostile world, which has both subtly and strongly and often openly and vehemently attacked us, has led us to arm ourselves with much more than the Bible and faith in God, and rightly so. But then we must understand ourselves rightly in order to explain all that has happened to us and account correctly for what we now are.

Some current complacent assumptions about ourselves and outside influences must be challenged. One of these is that "my group" has not been affected by outside influence, that "we" are still what our forefathers were, and that the sanction of antiquity inheres to all our current practices and beliefs; this is group ignorance. Another is that our unique Mennonite emphases are all original with us and have never found expression in Christian history before or even now elsewhere; this is group pride. Another is that we in our generation have found the final answers in application of principles and solution of problems and hence do not need to change; this is current generation pride. We should disabuse ourselves also of the notion that cultural Mennonitism has anything to do with the essence of real Anabaptist-Mennonitism. Agricultural contributions, economic achievements, strong family and community life, in which we sometimes glory, are all worthy and fine, but they can be completely devoid of any spiritual and Christian meaning or connection, and are not of the essence. They can be most materialistic and carnal, a substitute for real religion and true discipleship. And when we compare what is at times a stolid, cold, self-satisfied, materialistic or tradition-bound and culture-conformist Mennonitism of today with the original aggressive, creative, nonconformist first generation and first century Anabaptism we can well discern that a great change has taken place. Some outside influences that have come to bear upon us are nearer to original Anabaptism than we ourselves now are.

The Channels of Outside Influence

How have the outside influences penetrated our brotherhood? Protective barriers have been thrown up, such as the German language, solid group settlement, geographical and cultural isolation, prohibition of intermarriage, which have prevented this penetration in varying degrees for all groups and in some cases for long periods and almost completely.

1. Personal and neighborly contacts have often played a part in North America, in contrast to Russia where the geographical and cultural isolation, aided by the language difference, was complete.

2. More influence has come through literature—books, tracts, periodicals. The very lack of Mennonite literature has contributed to this. In early Pennsylvania it was largely German pietistic literature, both imports and American reprints. Later the Sunday school movement brought its expository and other literature, and still does, into home and church. Many Mennonites still feed heavily on "lesson helps" of others, on periodicals like the *S. S. Times* and the David C. Cook publications. Devotional books by the thousands, millennialistic literature, Bible Institute periodicals, the Scofield Bible, are to be found in many places. Most of our denominational bookstores and publishing houses carry a vast amount of outside literature, much of it offered without discrimination or concern as to the "strange" doctrines sometimes imported by this route.

3. In recent times the omnipresent radio with its popular religious programs of varying type, has become a major channel of direct influence. There is evidence that very many Mennonites listen to and support a variety of speakers and doctrines which come to them over the air.

4. Schools have been and continue to be a common channel for outside influences. The public elementary and high schools play their part through textbooks, teachers, atmosphere, association. But much more influential are colleges and universities which train leaders. Even Mennonite colleges and schools can become "transmission belts" for "foreign" ideas. Perhaps most influential have been non-Mennonite Biblical institutes and theological schools, which have been and still are training their dozens of young Mennonites. Moody's and Los Angeles Bible institutes were once largely patronized by Mennonites, though not so much recently. But several Bible schools in Western Canada have secured an astonishing patronage

the German-speaking immigrant groups from Rus- of both older and newer immigrations.

. Interdenominational Bible conferences have attrac- some Mennonites, and outside speakers have been ight into Mennonite communities to speak in local regations or regional Mennonite Bible conferences. occurred already in Russia, where the direct influ- of certain Baptist, Pietist, and Plymouth Brethren ble teachers" was large (Wüst, Baedeker, Ströter, adband).

5. Another source of influence has been interdenom- ional cooperative endeavors, such as Sunday school ferences, evangelistic campaigns, International Rela- s Institutions, Civilian Public Service, and the Na- al Association of Evangelicals.

This brief review of the most common channels of out- influence may serve to emphasize the multiplicity variety of the influences and the persistence with ch they invade our brotherhood in North America. most of us the day of any sort of isolation is wholly t. We are increasingly in the midst of the stream of erican life and religious influence, and no doubt many uld not have it otherwise. The Apostle Paul says, ove all things; hold fast that which is good." But if are not to be overwhelmed by these outside influences, "hold fast (only) what is good," we must be strong hin. Unless our spiritual and intellectual power is ficiently great, outside forces will override us. We must berately and consciously hold our own, not indiscrim- tely, but intelligently, and we must have the necessary ources and means to do this. Here the lack of a trained dership with a self-conscious and purposeful theologi- line of our own, historically and biblically grounded, been a great danger in the past, and still is in certain rters. To have a trained leadership is not enough; for h a leadership trained by others and indoctrinated by m, may itself become the channel of outside influence, be more effective in causing change because of this y training. Much better to have an untrained lay min- y loyal to our historic faith and purpose, than one t betrays us, however able it may be.

The Consequences of Outside Influence

1. Without doubt the welcome awakening, revitalizing, activating which has come into American Mennon- m in the past two generations has been due in large t to outside influences. The sorry state of those groups ch have remained isolated and closed may serve to re- d us to what we might all be, had we not opened up. Mennonite awakening in Russia (1860ff) had distinct benefit effect upon all Russian Men- itism directly or indirectly, and most of the immi- nt groups to North America reflect this. The "great kening" of 1880-1910 among the (Old) Mennonites in eastern half of the United States and Canada is an- er illustration. The recovery of a sense of mission, sely related to the rise of the missionary and philan- pic movement among North American Mennonites since 1900, which has finally reached even such conservative groups as the Church of God in Christ, the Kleine Gemeinde, and the Conservative Amish (there is now even a missionary movement among the Old Order Amish), is a vital part of this general awakening and activation. But it includes much more: a more vital type of preaching, emphasis upon religious experience including conversion, more active participation of the laity in the life of the church, new methods of work, etc. And the transformation is not yet complete—the process is continuing and growing. Our Sunday schools, revival meetings, evangelism, youth work, all this and more has come largely from outside Protestant sources.

2. Another change worthy of note is that from a traditional, simple almost to the point of naive, purely "Biblicistic" type of thought and attitude to a more consciously intellectual, theologizing, purposeful type. This is true both of the more "fundamentalistic" inclined groups and others. It is due in part to our own schools but also to the training of leadership, and the rising educational level of the entire membership.

3. There has also been a change in type of piety in some quarters to a more subjectivistic, emotional, introspective and even mystical type. Some whole groups have moved strongly in this direction. The change in piety has been accompanied by (or even influenced by) a shift in the center of theological emphasis in these same quarters from obedience and discipleship to the inner experience of justification and sanctification interpreted in other narrow ways, and with also a certain amount of theological transactionism.

4. There has also been the invasion of the speculative apocalyptic emphasis and interest, together with the adoption of certain chiliastic views and allegorical biblical interpretation.

5. Along with these changes certain new doctrines, previously unknown in Mennonite circles in either Europe or America have been developed. In this development it is worthy of note that Russian and North American Mennonites have much in common, though it must be remembered that this applies in both cases to a minority only. Here are some of the doctrinal importations: baptism by immersion, open communion, second work of grace, entire sanctification, eternal security, premillennialism, dispensationalism. Some groups have adopted one or more of these doctrines officially; some have merely tolerated deviations. Sometimes schisms have resulted, and again strong attachments and close fellowship have been formed with outside groups. None of the above-mentioned imported doctrines are to be found in any historic Mennonite confession of faith, and they never were a part of original Anabaptist-Mennonite theology or practice.

6. On the other hand certain specific and historic Mennonite doctrines have been partially or wholly lost, although such loss is not always due wholly to outside influences. Nonresistance, for instance, is clearly on its way out in certain groups and sections unless drastic

action is taken to retain it. Our doctrine of the church has been gravely compromised in the direction of (a) individualism versus brotherhood, (b) mysticism and laxity versus dicipline, (c) non-denominationalism, (d) denominationalism of the wrong type versus a brotherhood church, (e) professionalism in the ministry. The inter-related doctrines of separation, nonconformity and simplicity have been seriously diluted. And often while these doctrines have not been actually fully lost, there has nevertheless come confusion, uncertainty, and easy toleration of deviation.

7. Certain groups have been lost altogether to the Mennonite brotherhood, such as the Missionary Church Association and the United Missionary Church, and others are in danger of being lost. In some cases individual congregations have withdrawn from their conference affiliations and all Mennonite connections.

General Evaluation

The process of change, much of it under the powerful impact of outside forces, has gone far in our world Mennonite brotherhood. *European Mennonitism* viewed as a whole is seriously adrift, confused and disunited (I speak not organizationally but theologically). There is no common Mennonite theology or piety across the continent, Dutch-North German, South German, French, Swiss. There is liberalism here, Pietism there, traditionalism elsewhere, but too little self-conscious, historically grounded, coherent, solid Anabaptist-Mennonitism. There is some of this, to be sure, and there are signs of a growing reorientation in this direction, from Holland to Switzerland. The "message" of the Fifth Mennonite World Conference issued at Basel in 1952 with unanimous support is one token of this.

American Mennonitism on the whole is still sound at the core, has to a large extent recovered its sense of connection with its great past, has developed a large capacity for self-criticism and understanding of its own problems and needs, and in general has a good balance of faith and works, inner experience and evangelistic outreach and witnessing. It has retained much of the essence of its historic Anabaptist-Mennonite faith, and is learning how to correct its own aberrations and accumulated deficiencies. This judgment does not apply universally, to be sure.

I hold further that American Mennonitism is just coming into a great age—its golden age. There is much evidence of God's working in our midst. If we hold our historic course, release a dynamic spirituality, maintain a clear theological line and yield to God's purpose, greater things can be accomplished than hitherto by the entire brotherhood. "I have set before thee an open door."

There are, however, also grave dangers ahead. (1) Fundamentalism must be rejected as was Liberalism and Modernism. (2) The doctrines of nonresistance and nonconformity must be restored, rehabilitated and made fully relevant to our modern situation. They dare not be mere traditions, but must be intelligent, Scripturally grounded convictions. (3) Full discipleship can and should become the organizing core of our faith, grounded in God's gracious call and redemption, derived from the divine lordship and saviorhood of Christ, supported by the absolute authority of the Word of God, made dynamic in today's world. It dare not be supplanted or smothered by an excessive emotionalism or a barren theologizing. (4) The twin though opposite dangers of traditionalism and worldliness are constant threats which must be exorcized. (5) The rampant materialism so widely evident, with its easy-going acceptance of modern capitalistic methods and spirit, must be cured. (6) We must have, however, a clearly thought out and consistent theological line, not a mixture of confused theologies borrowed from groups and movements. Let us work together for this. Let us take the lesson from other groups, such as the Church of the Brethren, who are in a considerable dilemma in several respects because of their failure to do this very thing in their theology. It is easy for a whole brotherhood to lose its way. Let it not happen to us.

What will be the future course of American Mennonitism is not wholly clear, but I am not pessimistic. It will be determined largely by the three major groups—the Mennonite Church (Old) with its 72,000 members (including Conservative Amish), the General Conference Mennonite Church with 51,000 members, and the Mennonite Brethren Church with 23,000 members. Together these groups constitute 146,000 members. In strong contrast to them are the isolationist groups with 30,000 members, namely, Old Order Amish, Old Colony Mennonites, Old Order Mennonites. Then there are the smaller groups of varying character, Evangelical Mennonites, Krimmer Mennonite Brethren, Rudnerweide, with another 10,000 members. All three of the above major groups are now subject to disintegrative forces and damaging outside influences. Fundamentalism is currently the greatest danger, particularly for the Mennonite Brethren and a section of the General Conference group. But I believe with all my heart that we as a whole brotherhood with each other's help will find our way through to a continuing vigorous, thoroughly Mennonite, evangelical brotherhood, profiting from the best that comes to us from the outside, rejecting the harmful, moving forward in our witness and ministry in accord with God's historic purpose for us since 1525.

Note by Author

The term "Fundamentalism" (with a capital "F") is used in this discussion to refer to a minority polemical and rather radical movement in American orthodox Protestantism of the past forty years which, though having largely spent itself, has left certain attitudes and influences behind. It has never been a majority movement, and has composed only a small part of conservative evangelical Protestantism. Dr. Harold J. Ockenga, President of Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena (founded by Charles Fuller of the Old-Fashioned Revival Hour) himself an outstanding conservative evangelical has recently written "The judgment of history in Fundamentalism is that it has failed . . . Fundamentalism too often has been identified with peripheral emphases in doctrine and method thus forfeiting the right to being a synonym with evangelical . . . The new evangelicalism (the Fuller self-definition of its position, H. S. B.) embraces the full orthodoxy of fundamentalism in doctrine but manifests a social consciousness and responsibility which was strangely absent from fundamentalism."

The present writer counts himself as thoroughly fundamental (with a small "f") "evangelical" in both old and new senses, and he sees no place for modernism or liberalism in any form, least of all in Mennonitism, which has historically been thoroughly Biblical in its foundation and more completely so than Fundamentalism ever was. H.S.B.

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Be Silent, Soul

BY WARREN KLIEWER

Be silent, soul, you are too young to know
How deep the evil or how old the world.
You cannot charge down with your flags unfurled
And armor shining, and you cannot grow

An army from the seeds of dragons' teeth;
You cannot cry, "Wolf, wolf!" For who would come?
Be silent, soul; surrender; see the sun
Slide slowly downward; love, like darkness, death.

Your armor is a swordless sheath; a cough,
Your battle-cry; the dragon does not fight,
He reaches for his belly; with bloody light
The sun has set; the lamb has killed the wolf.

You have not seen, you have not feared, this woe,
Oh silent soul, you are too young to know.

Song: The Pilgrim

BY WARREN KLIEWER

Now in the full of fruit, the fall of leaves,
And in the night, when daylight is fulfilled,
Before the web the winter spider weaves,
Before the day the clouded sun will build,

We cannot wish for light, night is enough;
Nor lounging summer, for its fruit is done;
Nor endless days of everlasting love;
There is an end to summer and the sun.

From love, his path, the pilgrim dares not stray,
From the wicket gate, he dares not turn his head;
Once there, we see the ending of the day,
The leaves of summer dying, flashing red.

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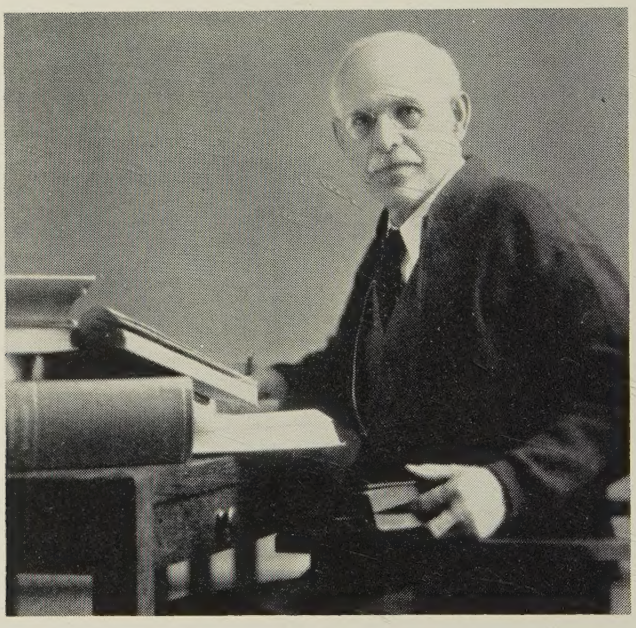

Rodolphe Charles Petter, born in Switzerland, February 19, 1865, died at Lame Deer, Montana, January 6, 1947. Shown at his desk where he transcribed the Cheyene language and translated parts of the Old and New Testament and other devotional materials into the Cheyenne language (see page 13).